

CENTRAL ASIATIC JOURNAL

INTERNATIONAL PERIODICAL
FOR THE LANGUAGES, LITERATURE,
HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF
CENTRAL ASIA

VOLUME II

Nr 2

joint publication of

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The Central Asiatic Journal appears 4 times per annum. Each
 issue consists of approximately 80 pages, to which illustrations are
 added as occasion requires.

For the United States of America, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland:
 Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden (Germany), Friedrichstrasse 14
For all other countries:
 Mouton & Co., Publishers, The Hague (Holland)

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KAMĀLASHRĪ - RASHĪD AL-DĪN'S "LIFE AND TEACHING OF BUDDHA"

A SOURCE FOR THE BUDDHISM OF THE MONGOL PERIOD

by

KARL JAHN

Leiden

I

The works of the Arabic and Persian historians and geographers are, as is well known, very important sources of information on the history and culture of the Eurasian continent. This is especially true in the case of certain peoples of Central, Eastern, and Southern Asia about whose existence in former times very few or no traces at all have been handed down. Were it not for the accounts given by Mohammedan writers, we should be entirely ignorant of the past, the habits, and customs of many of these nations.

But despite the recognizedly great value of the Mohammedan reports, these first require an intensive study and exhaustive criticism before they can be assessed at their true worth. This can be ascribed above all to the fact that these writings frequently convey very ingenuous, superficial and sometimes even erroneous impressions and representations of the facts, quite apart from the circumstance that, as W. Barthold has shown,¹ we are not seldom here concerned with knowledge gained from literary sources. For was it not from merchants, interested primarily in the geographical and economic problems of the lands through which they traveled, that the Mohammedan writers obtained their information on those regions, merchants who were as a rule accustomed to regard all other aspects as belonging to the realm of curiosities? A deeper penetration into and understanding of the cultural forms they encountered was, in their case, practically out of the question. In this respect they showed them-

¹ Cf. W. Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte d. Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin, 1935), p. 47.

selves no different from the majority of western travellers of the Middle Ages and their itineraries.

What has been said applies especially to all accounts dealing with the *religious life* of the non-Mohammedan peoples; for, in order to achieve a real understanding of the latter, either long and thorough penetration of the subject or reliable and objective sources of information on it are required. These demands are, as far as I know, only really fulfilled twice in the whole of Mohammedan literature. Both cases are concerned with a description of the religious life of India: for the first we are indebted to *al-Bīrūnī*, mainly in his "India",² which is based on theoretical and practical studies and experiences obtained during a stay of many years in the country itself; the second to *Rashīd al-Dīn* in the addition to his "History of India", the "Life and Teaching of Buddha", that was composed from authentic sources. For the rest these two works together give a complete picture of the religious life of India in Mohammedan literature, for *al-Bīrūnī* himself makes but desultory mention of Buddhism which, in his time, was already practically confined to the outskirts of India.

Here we shall deal only with a description of the last-named work, which is dated about 1305/6³ and can be traced back almost entirely to *Rashīd al-Dīn's* Indian informant, *Kamālashrī Bakhshī*, an otherwise completely unknown Kashmirian hermit.⁴ The significance of this treatise, here for the sake of brevity called the "Life and Teaching of Buddha", lies not only in the unique place which, as has been mentioned, it occupies in literature dealing with the religious history of the Mohammedans, but over and above that in its value as a source for Buddhism of the Mongol period. For however well we may be informed about the later form of indigenous Buddhism of the Mongols – Tibetan Lamaism – very little is

² Cf. *Alberuni's India*, an account of the religion, philosophy etc., an English edition, with notes and indices by E. C. Sachau, 2 vols (London, 1910).

³ The date of *Kamālashrī-Rashīd al-Dīn's* treatise, which forms the second part (qism) of the "History of India" and is entitled "On the birth of Shāk.mūnī (viz. Śākyamuni, as the Buddha is here everywhere named according to the Mahāyāna), his circumstances and sayings" cannot be stated with certainty. In any case it is evident from a date mentioned at the end of the seventh chapter (entitled: "On the length of the four Yugas according to the words of Śākyamuni, the wise men of India and the Brahmins", which chapter is not discussed in this article; cf. my edition of the "History of India") of the original Persian version, A.H. 702 = A.D. 1302/03, that already at that time the writing of our treatise was in progress. In any case it is probable that this second part was concluded at the same time as the whole work on India in 1305/06. As regards the date of the later Arabic version cf. note 10.

⁴ We know him only from *Rashīd al-Dīn* as an expert on the history of India and Buddhism. Cf. the introduction to my edition of the "History of India", and W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion* (London, 1928), p. 45.

known to us about the nature of this religion as it began steadily to gain ground among the Mongols around the middle of the 13th century. And while the sources enable us to follow the gradual expansion of the religion of Buddha in that early stage, they shed no light on its specific form and character. This applies in particular to that form of Buddhism which had been professed for round about fifty years by the Mongols of Iran and which at that time must have flourished in that country. At the time of *Arghun* (1284–1291) and his son *Ghazan* (1295–1304), both of whom – the latter until his conversion to Islam – were ardent adherents and diligent promoters of this faith, Iran sheltered a large number of Buddhist priests (*Bakhshī's*) and was strewn with Buddhist temples.⁵ The acceptance of Islam by *Ghazan* in 1295 for political reasons led, it is true, to the destruction of the Buddhist places of worship and was certainly the inducement for a large section of the Buddhist priesthood to return to their native countries, viz. *India, Kashmīr, Tibet, China, and Uyghuristan*; yet there are facts, such as the vain attempt made in 1309/10 by Buddhist priests to reconvert *Uldjaitu* (1305–1316) to Buddhism,⁶ which show that this religion, in spite of everything, continued to exist for some time in the country before being finally assimilated into the Mohammedan sphere in the first half of the 14th century, a fate shared also by Christianity, though later than in the case of Buddhism.

Yet, as has been said, all these historical facts have no bearing on the form and nature of Buddhism as practised by the Mongols of Iran, and it is just here that the work of *Kamālashrī-Rashīd al-Dīn* comes to our assistance. In my opinion it is scarcely open to doubt that the account given by *Kamālashrī* of *Buddha* and his teaching convey a picture of the religious opinions and conceptions which were commonly held by the Mongols of Iran. It would be absurd to assume that *Rashīd al-Dīn* had included in his work a description of Buddhism which differed fundamentally from the form known and practised in the country!

Seen in this light, the significance of *Kamālashrī-Rashīd al-Dīn's* treatise becomes evident as a unique source of information on *Western Buddhism*. At the same time the work may be considered as a substitute for the certainly numerous Buddhist writings, of which nothing has been handed down to us but which were undoubtedly in widespread circulation in Iran at the time.⁷

In the Kashmīrian origin and orientation of *Rashīd al-Dīn's* informant

⁵ Cf. B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 180.

⁶ Cf. Spuler, *ibidem*, p. 191.

⁷ Cf. Spuler, *ibidem*, p. 180.

an indication may be seen, in my opinion, that the Buddhism of Iran stood to a greater extent in the shadow of Kashmīr and India than of the Buddhism of the eastern Mongols, which was soon entirely biassed in favour of the Tibetan (lamaistic) variation. As I have demonstrated elsewhere,⁸ the political constellation, as a result of which Kashmīr and parts of India were incorporated more closely in the Ilkhanic than in the Great Khanic sphere of influence, would have formed the reason for this. Nevertheless we are here concerned rather with conjectures than with proved facts. In order to obtain a reasonably correct conception of the specific form of this "Western Buddhism", it is necessary to examine *Kamālashrī*'s work in its different sections.

A few general remarks on our source may however be made beforehand. First of all it is necessary to emphasize that we are here dealing not with an accurate, critical description of the life and teaching of Buddha, owing its existence to a scholar such as *al-Bīrūnī* for instance. This is an ecclesiastical, theological work with a distinct spiritual background and a Buddhist priest, a Bakhshī, as author.⁹ This must constantly be borne in mind when judging and assessing the value of the treatise.

Furthermore, this source is intended for Mohammedan readers, to convey to them an idea of the religion professed at that time by a considerable part of the population of the Mongol Empire, India, and finally Iran. For this reason the description is kept easily comprehensible, almost naïve, and in certain cases it even approximates superficially to the Islamic mode of thought. Thus the most important Indian-Buddhist conceptions and professional terms, taken throughout from the Sanskrit, are replaced by comparable Mohammedan expressions: for instance, the Buddhas and the gods as founders of religions are described as prophets, the gods (*Dēva*'s) generally as angels, the demons as devils, *Māra* as *Iblīs* etc.

Also it is sometimes impossible to escape from the impression that *Kamālashrī* attempts to draw certain traits, quasi-common with Islam, into the foreground, in order to render the description of this "heathen" religion and the life of its founder more acceptable to the Muslims. For all that, however, all these concessions change nothing of the basic contents of our source, to a description of which we shall now proceed.

Of the twenty chapters of the original Persian, and twenty-one of the

⁸ Cf. my article "A note on the history of Kashmīr" in *CAJ*, II (1956), No. 3, pp. 176-180.

⁹ Most of the material on the "Bakhshīs" can be found collected by E. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse par Raschid-Eldin*, t. I (Paris, 1836), p. 184, n. 51.

later Arabic version of *Kamālashrī-Rashīd al-Dīn*'s work,¹⁰ eighteen are devoted to the subject proper of the treatise, namely the life and teaching of *Śākyamuni* (Persian version: chaps. 2–18, 20; Arabic version: chaps. 2–7, 17–19, 21). Of the remaining two (in the Arabic version three), the opening chapter gives a short survey of the religions of India from the Buddhist standpoint, chapter 16 of the Arabic version consists of a list of Buddhist texts, and chapter 19 (Arabic version chap. 20) provides a view of the geographical spread of Buddhism at the time of writing.

On account of their general informative character I propose to introduce *Kamālashrī*'s work here with a discussion of Chapters 1 and 19, and subsequently to treat the other parts not in the order given by *Kamālashrī* but according to the homogeneity of their contents.

II

The first chapter bears the title: “Number and Time of the Prophets of the Hindus and their Names”, and contains general statements of data and reflections on the religions of India, especially Buddhism, all seen from the Buddhist standpoint.

Although – as *Kamālashrī* writes – the Hindu prophets and saints are very numerous, there are properly speaking only six, and it is from them that the various sects and schools have originated. It is clear that *Kamālashrī* is here making an attempt to accommodate himself to the Mohammedan opinion which held that the religions were founded by prophets. From this viewpoint he also describes the chief gods of the Hindu Pantheon, *Śiva*, *Vishnu*, and *Brahmā*, as prophets and as founders of the religions named after them. He goes even further when he represents a religious stage like “*Arhanta*” (= *Arhat*) and the designation of the nihilistic-materialistic school of the “*Nāstika*” as names of the founders of religions! This characterization is pertinent only in the case of the sixth and last of these “six prophets”, namely *Śākyamuni*.

Our author is able to give us some very interesting details about these religions, whose followers are partly idol-, partly fire-worshippers, and

¹⁰ As regards the Persian manuscripts consulted cf. my introduction . . .; the Arabic translation is that of the fragmentary Ms. of the R.A.S., A. 27, the only remaining manuscript of the Arabic version of this part (cf. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, a bio-bibliographical survey* [London, 1935], sect. II, fasc. 1, p. 75). When the Arabic version was written is not evident from the text, in any case it cannot have been later than 1314/15, the date of our copy. This is very important in connection with the list of Buddhist books (chapter 16), only preserved here, which was added later.

who are violently opposed to each other: of the five "prophets" preceding *Śākyamuni* – it is impossible to determine the date of their birth and of their activity owing to the overwhelming length of time – the first and most prominent is "*Māhīshūra*" (*Maheśvara*), viz. *Śiva* who, according to his followers, was not born and will never die. He possesses no parents, but has on the other hand wife and children. He is said to have three eyes: sun, moon and fire. His followers devote themselves to dancing and are fond of music. The followers of *V.shn.* (*Vishnu*), on the contrary, are ascetics and practise much self-chastisement; they seek redemption and salvation in hunger-asceticism. The followers of "*Brahmā*" (*Brahmā*) are fire-worshippers and the Brahmins all belong to these sects.

By all three sects the belief is held that the sun rises each month in another colour, and that therefore there are in a year altogether twelve different coloured suns.¹¹ In each sun-period ($2\frac{1}{2}$ sun-years) there remains one moon-month, which is called the thirteenth sun; the latter is worshipped as a god by one of their sects.

According to the view of the Brahmins, the followers of *Śiva*, *Vishnu* and *Brahmā* fall into four groups: those who are born of the forehead (of *Brahmā*) and who are the Brahmins and sages; those born of the breast who are the kings, princes and warriors; those born from the navel who are the husbandmen and artisans; those born from the genitals who are the drunkards, vagrants and such-like.

In the view of the Buddhists, *Śiva*, *Vishnu* and *Brahmā* understood less of their essential nature than *Śākyamuni* comprehended, for he is the prophet of charity and kindness, but the former are the prophets of violence and diabolical evil. The accursed *Śiva* describes himself arrogantly as the creator; *Vishnu* says that he kills the wicked and protects the virtuous; *Brahmā* says that he has four heads and with each of these heads he has produced a book, and these four books have been called by the Brahmins "Veda", which means "threaded pearls".¹²

And it is believed that *Vishnu* has appeared and appears ten times in each epoch (Yuga), each time in another form and in another manner. And it is said that *Brahmā*, who lives in the seventh heaven, has four heads and originally possessed five; the fifth is said to have been cut off by *Śiva*.

And the followers of *Śiva*, *Vishnu* and *Brahmā* aver that these three

¹¹ Cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1920), p. 134.

¹² The explanations and translations of the Sanskrit terms and proper names here and in other places show clearly that Kamālashrī himself, or the writers from whom he obtained his facts, were scarcely conversant with Sanskrit. Perhaps these faulty interpretations will ultimately prove to be a mean of identifying the sources used.

persons are one God, and that these three have the signification of one God; therefore they are called the Gods. The great natural phenomena such as floods, lightning, thunder, earthquakes and the general (universal) changes are held to be their work.

Śākyamuni however has named these Gods devils on account of their arrogance, egotism and self-love.

The fourth sect, known as "*Arhanta*", asserts that there will be twenty-four "*Arhantas*", viz. prophets.¹³ After that, world and creation will come to an end; all human beings, plants and animals will go to the abode of the blessed (Paradise), never to return.

And the fifth sect are the "*Nās.kī*" (*Nastika*),¹⁴ this is the sect of the believers in Nature. They believe neither in Heaven nor in Hell, nor in a requital of good or evil deeds. Every man is free to act for good or for evil as he desires; for ultimately there will be no one left, all creatures will become extinct, they grow and perish like grass.

The followers of *Śākyamuni* fall into three groups; the first is known as "*Shrā.v.k.*" (*Śrāvakas*) and consists of the lowest class, the disciples; they seek only self-salvation on account of the rigour of the Way shown to them by *Śākyamuni*. The second group are the "*Br.ty.k.b.d.*" (*Pratyekabuddhas*), the middle group, who maintain that they liberate people from evil and help them.¹⁵ The third group, known as "*S.m.y.k S.mb.d.*" (*Samyaksambuddhas*), claim to have attained the highest degree of perfection. They give right guidance to all creatures and perfect the imperfect souls: they raise people from the stage of animals and devils to the degree of the angels and holy spirits. They know and understand the secrets, commands, wisdom, arguments and revelations of *Śākyamuni*. They support the tenets of the early prophets but consider that the followers of the latter have corrupted their good faith.¹⁶ The new prophet is *Śākyamuni*; one must persevere in his imitation.

Śākyamuni possesses a book "*Ab.d.rm.*" (*Abhidharma*), which means:

¹³ It is easy to recognize the twenty-four "Tirthankaras" of the Jainas, who are frequently designated by them as Arhat or Jina. Cf. H. Jacobi, Art. *Jainism* in *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics*, ed. by J. Hastings, Vol. III, p. 466; H. v. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus, eine indische Erlösungsreligion* (Berlin, 1925), p. 247.

¹⁴ Cf. E. J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (London, 1933), pp. 217, 229.

¹⁵ Here of course we are dealing with a misconception on the part of the author, "the pratyekabuddha, the 'independent or separate Buddha', has attained enlightenment independently and without help of a Buddha's teaching, but he is not able to preach it like a complete Buddha." Cf. Thomas, *ibidem*, pp. 168-169.

¹⁶ By the first two groups Kamālashrī apparently means the adherents of the Hināyāna, by the third group those of the Mahāyāna, but above all the community of Avalōkīteśvara, as is evident from Chapter 18.

“the first and last of all books”. In this book *Śākyamuni* says that in former times there lived a prophet named “*Dīb.nk.r.*” (*Dīpankara*) which means “Light of the World”. He was followed by innumerable other prophets whose names have disappeared entirely in the course of time. Yet whereas formerly in each period (*Kalpa*), from the beginning of a great flood until the end of the following, a prophet used to appear, in this period “*B.dr.K.lp.*” (*Bhadra Kalpa*), a thousand prophets would come forward. Of these, seven have already appeared, namely “*Vīb.shī*” (*Vipaśyin*), “*Shīkhī*” (*Śikhin*), “*V.shv.bh.*” (*Viśvabhū*), “*K.rākūh.nd.*” (*Krakucchandra*), “*K.n.k.mūn.*” (*Kanakamuni*), “*Kāshīb.*” (*Kāśyapa*) and *Śākyamuni*.¹⁷

And *Kamālashrī* relates about *Śākyamuni* that all prophets in their significance, that is their nature, are one, and always return and revive their religion. And the words of all prophets are one and their meaning is to be found recorded in its entirety in this book (*Abhidharma*).

III

Chapter 19 gives many interesting facts on the geographical expansion of Buddhism and its schools in the Mongolian Empire and India round about the turn of the 13th–14th century.

To begin with there are concrete particulars concerning the spread of the religion of *Buddha* among the Asiatic peoples at the time of *Kamālashrī*. The only purely Buddhist country known to our author in India proper is the island of *Ceylon* (*Sarandīb*). Its population belongs as a whole to the “*Shrāv.k.*” = *Śrāvaka* (viz. *Hīnayāna*) sect. The famous Buddhist relics of the island are mentioned particularly in the fifth chapter, namely the footsteps of *Śākyamuni* “on the mountain of *Sarandīb*, where the ruby mines are to be found”, his tooth, also there, and finally the bowls which the four kings had brought with them, also in the neighbourhood of this mountain.¹⁸

¹⁷ The meanings of the names of the seven Buddhas are given as follows: *Vipaśyin* – he sees what others do not see, and knows it; *Śikhin* – no one sees the crown of his head; *Viśvabhū* – his hand reaches everywhere; *Krakucchandra* – his voice penetrates everywhere; *Kanakamuni* – his heart and his tongue are pure as gold; *Kāśyapa* – he endeavours to liberate all creatures from the cares of the world; *Śākyamuni* – the king who has preferred the life of a Dervish. Cf. Thomas, *ibidem*, p. 168; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet* (London, 1895), p. 346.

¹⁸ *Kamālashrī*-Rashīd al-Dīn also says that by the followers of other religions (viz. Mohammedans and Christians) *Śākyamuni* was called Adam. Adam’s footsteps on the mountain *Sarandīb* are mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭā (*Voyages*, texte arabe, acc. d’une

The cities of *Śākya* muni's native country, here to all appearances symbolically named "*M.hāb.d.*" (*Mahābodhi*),¹⁹ are described as being inhabited partly by Buddhists, partly by followers of *Maheśvara* (*Śiva*). A similar religious differentiation applies also to "*Kūd.*" (— *Gauda* — Bengal) which is said to consist of five provinces, named "*Kūd.*" (— *Gauda*), each of which is as large as *Irāq* and *Khorāsān*, or as *Syria* and *Egypt*. Its inhabitants are purely *Hindu*.

Diverse religions are to be found among the inhabitants of "*Malībār*" (*Malabar*), "*K.vā*" (*Goa*), "*Tānā*" (*Thāna*),²⁰ "*Ma'bar*" (*Ma'bar*), "*D.l.nk*" (*Talang*)²¹ "*K.dm.d*" (*Katmandu*), "*Mālvī*" (*Malvā*), "*Kh.z.rāt*" (*Gujarāt*), *Sind* and *Dihlī*. The same is true of the countries of *Khitāy*, *Chīn*, the land of the *Uyghurs* and *Turks* (*Turkestan*). The people of *Turkestan* were — according to *Kamālashrī* — originally in the main Buddhists. Although, as he writes, many of them turned to Mohammedanism, there are still in those regions many Buddhist temples. This information is very interesting, for it shows that Buddhism was maintained in *Turkestan* for a long time during the Mongol dominion. Not until the conversion to Islam of the *Chaghatay-Khans* in the first half of the 14th century, did the latter religion finally gain supremacy in *Turkestan*.²²

Another remarkable statement is that at that time Buddhism played hardly any part in the native land of our author, *Kashmīr*,²³ for — accord-

traduction p. Ch. Defrémery et B. R. Sanguinetti, t. IV [Paris, 1922], pp. 179–182), as are the precious stones, which are found in the great gulf at the foot of the mountain (*ibidem*, pp. 173–175, 184); Marco Polo makes no mention of the footsteps of Buddha, whereas we do find an account of a monument (temple) dedicated to Buddha on Adam's peak, as also his teeth, hair and beggar's bowl. Cf. *Marco Polo, La description du monde*, texte intégral en français moderne, avec traduction et notes par L. Hambis (Paris, 1955), pp. 271, 273–74.

¹⁹ The temple by the Bodhi tree and its surroundings are called Mahābodhi. This name occurs first in Hiuen Tsiang (*Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist records of the Western World*, transl. by S. Beal [London, 1906], Vol. II, p. 133) and furthermore in an inscription from the year 850 B.C. found near the temple; cf. A. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi or the great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi tree at Buddha-Gaya* (London, 1892), p. 3; cf. also Nundolal Dey, *The geographical dictionary of ancient and mediaeval India* (London, 1927²), p. 212.

²⁰ Cf. *Alberuni's India*, an English edition . . . by E. C. Sachau (London, 1910), Vol. I, p. 203: *Tāna* (*Thāna*, near Bombay). Cf. also Hamd-Allah Mustawfī, *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, ed. and transl. by G. Le Strange (G. M. S., XXIII, Leyden-London, 1915), 2 (transl.), p. 256.

²¹ Cf. *ibidem*, I (Persian text), p. 262.

²² The Khan Kebek (1318–1326), although a heathen, made himself conversant with Islamic culture, his brother Tarmashirin (1326–1334) was converted to Islam and thereby procured supremacy for this religion. Cf. W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen . . .*, pp. 203–204, and *idem*, Art. *Čaghatāi* in *EI*, Vol. I (Leiden, 1913), pp. 848–49.

²³ Yet on the other hand the Buddhist theologians of Kashmir stood in high repute,

ing to his own words – the population of the country was composed only of followers of *Śiva* and of *Brahmā*.

The inhabitants of the extensive Kingdom of *Mansi*, in the proximity of *China*, were known to *Kamālashrī* as a purely Buddhist people, belonging to the *Śrāvaka* viz. *Hīnayāna* and outwardly – with crop-ears – resembling the *Khitāy* (Chinese). He further mentions the equally Chinese-looking population of *Qandahār* – also with crop-ears²⁴ – known as *Qarājānk* (*Qarajang*) to the *Mongols*.²⁵ Finally *Kamālashrī* describes the inhabitants of *Tibet* and *Tankut* (*Tangut*) also as followers of the “pure teaching”, belonging to the sect of “*S.m.v.k S.mb.d.*” (*Samyaksambuddha*), viz. *Mahāyāna*.

In addition to these particulars our chapter also contains several pseudo-historical and legendary facts, as, for instance, when we are told that before the acceptance of Islam all the inhabitants of *Mecca* and *Medīna* were Buddhists and that in the *Ka'ba* they had worshipped idols resembling *Buddha*, which *Moḥammed* had then ordered to be destroyed; so also when we read that Buddhism had spread to the interior of *Ḥabash* (*Abyssinia*) and to some negro races; again, the mention of the “*man-stealing*” wives (*Amazons*) as the *Buddhist* inhabitants of the North,²⁶

as is shown for instance in the appointment of the Kashmirian Bakhshī Namo as head of the Buddhist Church of the Mongolian Empire under Möngkă (1251-1259) (cf. P. Ratchnevsky, “Die mongolischen Grosskhane und die buddhistische Kirche,” in *Asiatica, Festschrift F. Weller* [Leipzig, 1954], p. 491), and not in the last place Rashīd al-Dīn's drawing upon the Bakhshī Kamālashrī as an expert on Buddhist religion and Indian history.

²⁴ The text states clearly: *burida gosh*, resp. *maqū'u l-ādān*; the meaning of this is not evident, it may be an erroneous allusion to the custom, prevalent among the peoples living to the south and southwest of China, of piercing the ears for ornamental purposes. Cf. W. Eberhard, *Kultur und Siedlung der Randvölker Chinas* (Leiden, 1942), 4. Sachindex, under: “Ohrringe” etc. Prof. Eberhard wrote me recently that he is also most inclined to this opinion, though it can be no more than a surmise.

According to subsequent information from Professor W. Eberhard, we may possibly be dealing here with a slip of the pen for “cropped hair”; for, as opposed to all other Chinese, the Buddhists were accustomed to go bald-headed. Such a reading is nevertheless inadmissible both in the Persian and in the very accurate Arabic version. — May I take this opportunity of expressing my very real gratitude to Professor Eberhard for all the trouble he has taken in connection with this question.

²⁵ Cf. H. Yule, “An endeavour to elucidate Rashiduddin's geographical notes of India,” *JAS*, NS, IV (1870), p. 356; cf. also *Rašid-ad-Dīn, Sbornik letopisej*, t. I, kniga pervaja, perevod L. A. Chetagurova, p. 159, n. 6.

²⁶ The text of the Arabic version runs as follows: “The inhabitants of the northern districts as far as the regions of darkness are women. From time to time they steal men for purposes of propagation. And it is one of the characteristics of these regions that the men instantly die on hearing thunder. Therefore they hide them away in cellars, so that they shall not hear the rolling of the thunder. And all these women are Buddhists.”

belongs of course to the realm of invention and imagination. These facts serve at any rate to demonstrate a former sphere of influence of Buddhism in the world.

IV

The actual biography of *Śākyamuni* is contained in Chapters 2–6, 8 (in part), 9 and 20 (21 respectively) which moreover have remained for the greatest part intact in both versions. I intend to give only a general summary of these chapters, an acquaintance with which may contribute to the identification of *Kamālashrī's* sources.

The second chapter: "On the birth of *Śākyamuni*", begins immediately with the description of this event without any celestial prelude; *Māhā Māyā*, the wife of the Indian king *Sh.dūd.n.* (*Śuddhodana*), who ruled in *K.b.l.vās* (*Kapilavastu*), dreams that she has eaten the sun and the moon, has drunk the sea in one draught and has taken the mountain *Qāf* (viz. the *Meru*) as her pillow. The interpretation of the dream is that she will give birth either to a king or to a Buddha. The birth takes place not as has generally been described in the Lumbinī grove but in a garden outside the town of *M.hāb.d* (*Mahābodhi*),²⁷ the "place of birth and origin of *Śākyamuni*". After the birth the child is attended to by the "four angels, *Śiva*, *Vishnu*, *Brahmā* and *Indra*" and finally taken with the mother to the king. When later he is taken to the temple, the statues of the four angels, made of gold, silver, stone and wood (fall down) and worship him. The people perceive from this that the angels recognize him as their Lord and therefore give him the name of "*S.rvārt.s.d.* (*Sarvārthasiddha*), that is, perfect in soul and in action". At the age of four he already distinguished himself in the arts and sciences.

In the third chapter: "On the distinguishing marks and characteristics of the perfect human being according to the words of the *Bakhshīs*", are enumerated the thirty-two characteristics of the perfect man in the usual way, characteristics which "the prophet must possess and which therefore were all to be found on *Śākyamuni*".²⁸

²⁷ Cf. note 12.

²⁸ According to *Kamālashrī* the thirty-two distinguishing marks of the Great Man are as follows: 1. The feet symmetrical and slender. – 2. The fingers and toes straight-jointed. – 3. The hands and feet fresh and beautiful, both in youth and in old age. – 4. The lips thin, symmetrical and graceful. – 5. The shoulders broad, symmetrical and strong. – 6. The chest as broad as that of a lion, the waist slender. – 7. Forty regular and evenly placed teeth. – 8. The teeth white and symmetrical. – 9. The tongue red and so long that it can reach the eyebrows. – 10. A voice which penetrates everywhere. –

The third chapter: "On the journeyings of *Śākyamuni* and his circumstances", shows *Śākyamuni* on the occasion of his first journey as witness of two joyful events – a birth- and a wedding-feast – and subsequently his meeting with the four well-known visions; on the occasion of the second journey his encounter with a sick person, an old man and a funeral and on the third with a hermit.²⁹ The sight of these manifestations and the explanations given him by his attendants lead him to the decision to renounce the world. When the king hears of this he orders the prince to be shut up in a prison with a firm roof. Here *Śākyamuni* remains imprisoned and fettered for many years, guarded by four hundred brave men.

The fourth chapter: "On *Śākyamuni*'s asceticism and how he reached the World of Truth", contains the following facts: the angels of the four World Kings ("They rule over the four directions of the mountain *Qāf*") draw their attention to the fact that the time has come to set free *Sarvārthasiddha* from prison, now he has attained his twenty-ninth year. Thereupon the four Kings ascend to the roof of the prison and set the prince free. He then mounts the famous horse³⁰ which the Kings have brought with them, and seizes his sword.

After the Kings have led him down and have disappeared, he reaches the *Ganges* on horseback, accompanied only by his groom.³¹ There he meets a large number of ascetics who boast about the relative merits of their asceticism. *Sarvārthasiddha* cuts off the hair from his head, flings

11. The nose symmetrical, not too short and not too long. – 12. The eyelashes as long as those of the cow. – 13. Both eyes deep blue. – 14. On the forehead, between the eyebrows, a mark like a red jewel. – 15. The forehead like a plate of gold. – 16. The body like the Nikrud tree, whose boughs and branches are perfect. – 17. The centre of his head projecting in the shape of a dome so that the crown is not visible. – 18. His legs (between knee and ankle-bone) round and straight. – 19. The suppleness of his limbs is such that he can make them all touch each other. – 20. Long fingers with tapering finger-tips. – 21. Copper-coloured nails. – 22. Hands so long that when standing he can touch his knees and can rub them with the palms of his hands. – 23. The knees round and symmetrical, their centre fat and yet soft. – 24. The genital organ created in such a fashion that all people desire it. – 25. The limbs gleaming and shining like red gold. – 26. But little hair on the body, each hair being separate. – 27. All hairs pointing upwards. – 28. The body broader and taller than that of other men. – 29. All the limbs created in such a fashion that all people desire them. – 30. That his glance inspires all people with new life and infinite joy. – 31. His voice is kind towards friends but hard towards enemies. – 32. His teeth fit closely to each other (without gaps). Cf. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, pp. 220-21.

²⁹ It is worthy of note that in place of the classical four journeyings, Kamālaśrī mentions only three, moreover that the four well-known manifestations are divided over the second and third journeys.

³⁰ Viz. Kanthaka.

³¹ Viz. Chandaka.

his sword into the river and renounces the world. Part of his hair he sends to his parents by the groom, the rest is carried by the angels to the Seventh Heaven, where it is guarded as a relic.

He proves the sincerity of his purpose to the ascetics, who distrust him, by remaining sitting on a stone and fasting for six years. To those ascetics who have approached the godly state he appears suddenly floating in the air, sitting on a throne adorned with jewels; to the others on the contrary he appears miserable and weak, sitting on his stone.

At the end of the six years the "angel" *Indra* appears and asks him to leave his place of abode. "And at the same time a voice came from Heaven, calling him *Śākyamuni*, and he it is who is called Adam by followers of other religions."³²

The sixth chapter: "*Śākyamuni* relinquishes solitude and abandons asceticism", begins with the well-known story of the country-girl *Suyātā*.³³ We find it here in the following form: when it becomes generally known that *Śākyamuni* has left the place of his asceticism and is again taking nourishment, a girl possessing a large herd of dairy cows prepares a dish consisting of the milk of one hundred cows, rice and sugar, in order to be the first to offer it to *Śākyamuni*. All her girl friends do the same. When they together offer him the food, *Śākyamuni* appears to enjoy all of their dishes; in fact however he has given the food of the others to the devil (*Iblīs*) to eat. When a group of Murids and Pīrs see him taking the food, they leave him.³⁴

Hereupon *Śākyamuni* throws the bowl from which he has eaten into the *Ganges* and utters the wish that, if he is indeed predestined to become a leader of the people, it should appear on the surface of the water. This does in fact occur and in the course of one hour it (the bowl) reaches the source of the river and comes to rest on top of the bowls of the six prophets who have preceded *Śākyamuni*. And in this spring there lives a blind king who has the appearance of a great snake, called *Kāl.k.* (*Kālīka*). When the bowl falls into his palace, the latter is filled with light and he himself recovers his sight. And *Kālīka* is astonished that a prophet should appear before one day has passed. But one day of *Kālīka* is one Kalpa. And *Kālīka* praises *Śākyamuni* because he has brought him light.³⁵

³² Cf. Note 12.

³³ Here not mentioned by name.

³⁴ The five disciples of Rudraka are meant here, as is evident from the rest of the text.

³⁵ According to the *Lalitavistara*, the serpent-king Sāgara catches the golden bowl which the Bodhisattva has cast into the river after finishing his meal, and carries it to his abode. Cf. *Lalita Vistara*, trad. Ph. E. Foucaux, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, t. 6ième (Paris, 1884), p. 232. Acc. to E. Waldschmidt, *Die Legende vom Leben des*

Then *Śākyamuni* recalls the five disciples – the eldest of them is called *Kūṇḍ.n.* (*Kauṇḍinya*) – and answers all their questions, whereupon they believe in him and obey him again. Then he sets out from the land of *Mahāb.d.* (*Mahābodhi*) to the centre of the earth and arrives finally in a valley where there is a tree called *Būd.vrksh.* (*Bodhivṛkṣa*), under which he lies down. By praising and glorifying God he stills the earth quaking under his feet.

The light emanating from *Śākyamuni*'s shining face penetrates to the Sixth Heaven and 'Iblīs (viz. *Māra*), who abides there, is thereby filled with apprehension. When his daughters ask him the reason for this, he answers that the king's son has appeared who is to overthrow the kingdom of the Devil. His daughters attempt to console him by promising to seduce this king's son, as they have seduced so many other thousands of ascetics, hermits and prophets. In spite of all their attempts, however, *Śākyamuni* vouchsafes not a look at 'Iblīs' beautiful daughters. But at last on their urgent entreaties he glances at them. Their hair turns white and they grow old and worn so that they are ashamed before each other and return weeping to 'Iblīs.

Then 'Iblīs turns against *Śākyamuni* with an army of 136,000 warriors.³⁶ But *Śākyamuni* raises up a whirlwind which strikes the whole army unconscious, so that 'Iblīs alone remains with his bow and five arrows. When he has shot these to no avail at *Śākyamuni*, he turns to the latter and asks him, *Śākyamuni*, to bear witness to his greatness and to prove his magical strength. Then *Śākyamuni* lays the middle finger of his right hand on the earth, which immediately opens. Out of the centre appears the world in the form of a maiden who accuses 'Iblīs of egotism. *Śākyamuni* however has acted in the opposite way and her (text: his) hair is still damp from the abundance of good deeds which he has spread over the face of the earth. And she presses (the water) out of her hair and a spring is formed which is now called *Nīr.n.z.n.* (*Nairāñjanā*).³⁷ But 'Iblīs is ashamed, repents of his deeds and glorifies *Śākyamuni*. Thereupon his army returns to him, repentant and full of good intentions.

Buddha, ... aus dem Sanskrit, Pali und Chinesischen übersetzt ... (Berlin, 1929), p. 144, it was the brightness emanating from the body of the Bodhisattva which lightened up the dwelling of the snake-king Kālīka (Kāliyaka).

³⁶ The number of Māra's warriors is otherwise not given. Cf. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha* . . . , p. 66 et seq.

³⁷ Very curious is the way in which the origin of the river Nairāñjanā is here brought into connection with the damp hair of the earth goddess. Cf. in this connection the passage in A. Foucher's, *La Vie du Bouddha d'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde* (Paris, 1949), p. 159, and the literature indicated therein.

According to the *Śākyamuni* there are ten sins, viz. three sins of the soul: murder, theft, and lasciviousness; four sins of the tongue: lying, slander and the use of hard and vain words; three sins of the heart: envy, hatred, and lack of the true knowledge. Opposed to these ten sins there are ten virtues.³⁸

The eighth chapter, which bears the title: “On the number of years of *Śākyamuni*’s life, the circumstances of his life and his sayings”, relates first that *Śākyamuni* reached the age of eighty and that his name and his Word will live on for 80,000 years. This is followed by the well-known story of ‘*Anāt.b.nd. (Anāthapiṇḍada)*,³⁹ the rich man from *Srāv.sh. (Śrāvasti)*, who bestowed the grove of Jetavana on *Śākyamuni*: Prince *Yīt. (Jeta)* first demanded that to pay for the garden the ground in it should be paved with golden tiles; when this had been done, he doubled the price - demanding now that the tiles should be laid one upon the other - and when his wish had been fulfilled he stipulated that this piece of ground should henceforth bear his name. Therefore *Anāthapiṇḍada* named the edifice which he built there “*Yīt.v.n.b.nd. (Jetavanapiṇḍada)*. The text then continues: “there is a place of this name which consists of a Medrese, a Khānaqāh, a *Ṣauma‘a* and a hospital”.⁴⁰

This story proceeds curiously enough with the frequently encountered tale of the “Widow’s Mite”.⁴¹ As it is told here in a form which to some extent differs from the usual version, I quote it as far as possible verbatim:

“When *Anāthapiṇḍada*⁴² had completed this edifice, he prepared a feast to which he invited all the *Ṣūfis*, *Bakshīs* and *Dervishes* of that kingdom. And an old woman named *Nagara-Avalambikā*^(?),⁴³ which means ‘hungry

³⁸ This is the well known decalogue of the Buddhist ethical law; the corresponding ten virtues which follow as a result, are not enumerated.

³⁹ Cf. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 106 et seq.

⁴⁰ The enumeration of the various buildings conveys the impression that Kamālaśrī knew them from personal observation. As the Jetavana monastery itself had already long been destroyed (cf. *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist records* . . . transl. by S. Beal, Vol. II [1884], p. 4), he must have had another in mind, perhaps the monastery of similar name in Ceylon.

⁴¹ Cf. particularly D. G. A. v. d. Bergh van Eysinga, *Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen* (Göttingen, 1909), pp. 50–52; H. Haas, “*Das Scherflein der Witwe*” und seine Entsprechungen im *Tripitika* (Liepzig, 1922), pp. 5–79. Cf. also a Chinese variant in S. Beals, *Abstract of four Lectures on Buddhist Literature in China* (London, 1882), pp. 172–4.

⁴² This is most probably a confusion with King Ajātuśatru of Magadha, with whom this legend is always connected.

⁴³ The most probable reading of the very corrupt form of the name appears to me to be the one given; cf. *Analyse du Kandjour*, par A. Csoma de Körös, trad. et augmentée... par L. Feer, in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, t. 2ième, p. 529: *Nagara-avalambikā*, “La protégée de la ville”, femme qui deviendra un Buddha.

beggar of the town', brought a handful of rice and a Direm of oil and said to *Anāthapiṇḍada*: 'This is all I possess, therefore take this trifling amount, add it to the large amount and give of it to the people, so that I too may be able to call a good work my own and that I may have a reserve!' *Anāthapiṇḍada* answered her that the gift of a beggar was of no consequence, he had already prepared so much food that he needed help or support from no one. And he drove her forth from him.

The woman went home and secretly implored *Śākyamuni*: 'My God, why am I so poor that I may not show hospitality to the men of God and refresh them with food?' Then she took a few grains of rice and one drop of oil between her fingers, went to the edifice, put them secretly with the other food and departed. When after this the host gathered together the guests, Murīds and his relations there and gave food and drink in plenty to all those present, there rose up one and asked of *Śākyamuni* what reward would be earned by *Anāthapiṇḍada* by all these pious foundations and gifts, his bounty, his diligence and his natural piety. *Śākyamuni* answered that the reward of *Nagara-avalambikā* (?) would amount to 1001 and added: 'This woman will soon attain my rank as a reward of this faith, but *Anāthapiṇḍada* will obtain but little enlightenment.'

Anāthapiṇḍada was so grieved and cast down by these words that at once his egotism, his pride and his arrogance left him and he was purged and purified from all the sins he had ever committed."

In the ninth chapter: "On the regeneration of *Śākyamuni* in different manifestations", *Śākyamuni* himself tells the story of a new birth: "I have come to earth," he says, "84,000 times in different forms, and each time have died a different death. Once I was a merchant and was crossing the sea. A crocodile seized the hull of our ship. In order to avert the disaster I praised God with the word '*N.mūdāy*' (*Namo Buddhāya*),⁴⁴ which means, I pray to Allah, who is mighty and glorious. When the sound of this prayer reached the sharp ears of the crocodile it awakened in him the recollection that he had once been a human and had recited this prayer; he was moved to compassion and spared the ship."⁴⁵ And he was granted redemption from his sins. When he died, his skeleton remained on top of a mountain as a reward for his good deed, but his soul entered into the

⁴⁴ Viz. "Veneration to Buddha!" the first part of the three-fold refuge formula.

⁴⁵ Cf. here H. Lüders, *Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur*, in *Abhandlg. f.d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, Bd. XXVI, 3, Leipzig 1941, pp. 73 seq. and the literature indicated there. According to this writer the sources appear to have been mainly Indian (the *Divyāvadāna*) when the Buddha himself is involved in the action. The probable source of the rest of the story I have as yet been unable to ascertain.

body of a poor boy. And this boy was created in such a way that his stomach was never satisfied. However much he was given to eat, his hunger was never appeased.” And *Śākyamuni* prepared a drink for him, uttered a prayer over it and gave it the boy to drink. When he had drunk of it, he was satisfied. On *Śākyamuni*’s asking him whether he desired anything else to eat, he answered in the negative and said that by this drink his hunger had entirely ceased.

Hereupon *Śākyamuni* invited him to take a walk with him on the plain. As they wandered on, they came to the skeleton of the crocodile. Then *Śākyamuni* asked the boy if he knew whose skeleton this was. He answered him: “By thy blessing I remember that I was this crocodile and that this skeleton is mine.” And he grasped the hem of *Śākyamuni*’s garment and besought him to save him from the different regenerations of the metempsychosis. Then *Śākyamuni* raised him to his own degree and delivered him from the metempsychosis.

The following story, in part the well-known tale of *Nanda* (*Sundara-nanda*)⁴⁶ is then told: “It is said that *Śākyamuni* had a nephew on his mother’s side⁴⁷ named *N.nd.* (*Nanda*), who had a singularly beautiful and virtuous wife. He was so enchanted with her beauty that *Śākyamuni* challenged him to renounce her and to transfer the sensual love which he felt towards her in a purified form to the Lord of the World. This proved to be impossible. With his tongue he averred that he had relinquished her, but his whole body was consumed with love for her and he was burnt up by the fire of separation (from her). Then *Śākyamuni* went to the woman, invisible to her but visible to him and prevented him from taking her.

One day *Śākyamuni* took him for a walk on the plain. At the foot of a mountain they saw a burnt monkey whose stench was loathsome to them. When they had passed by, *Śākyamuni* lifted the veil from his eyes and showed him Paradise, so that he should see all its *Hūris* and youths. Then he asked him who was more beautiful, these (women) or his wife. He replied that to compare his wife to the *Hūris* was similar to comparing the burnt ape to the *Hūris*. Then *Śākyamuni* said to him: ‘Now that thou knowest the circumstances, renounce thy wife that the Almighty may

⁴⁶ Cf. the history previous to the *Samgāmāvacara-Jātaka* in *The Jātaka, or stories of the Buddha’s former births*, transl. from the Pali . . . under the editorship of E. B. Cowell (Cambridge, 1895), Vol. II, pp. 63–64. Although I have as yet been unable to retrace the story to a particular case, nevertheless this Hell-punishment where the culprits are baked in iron jars is among the best known.

⁴⁷ Actually the younger brother of the Buddha, cf. Cowell, *ibidem*. According to G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli proper names* (London, 1938), vol. II, pp. 10–11, his half-brother.

give thee these *Hūris*.' Nanda now took leave finally of his wife and preferred the *Hūris*.

Thereupon *Śākyamuni* showed him Hell. When he looked (down) into Hell, he saw a pot being made, the length, breadth and depth of which were all 14 parasangs. When the noise of the work on this pot reached his ears, he enquired of the Hell-dwellers what pot this was and for what purpose it was being made. He was told that this pot was being prepared for Nanda who had deserted his wife for the *Hūris*, in order to punish him by stewing him in this pot. *Nanda* was greatly afraid and besought *Śākyamuni* to save him from this terrible punishment and horrible chastisement, for from now on he would covet neither his wife nor the *Hūris*. *Śākyamuni* freed him from this fear."

The last chapter, which deals with the death of *Śākyamuni*, appears in many respects to be interesting, for which reason a verbatim translation is given here. Fortunately it is again included in both versions, so that there is no obstacle in the way of a reconstruction.

"In Hindustan there is a town named *Qūsh.n.q.r.* (*Kuśinagara*), whose inhabitants are renowned for their courage and intrepidity.⁴⁸ They heard that *Śākyamuni* intended to come to their town. But the way there was barred by a high and vast mountain. So they decided, in order to save him from having to cross it, to remove this mountain with hammers and pickaxes. And they set out to destroy the mountain. But *Śākyamuni* descended miraculously into the town from the sky without crossing the mountain. When they heard of his arrival, they departed from the mountain and hastened to him. Then spake *Śākyamuni* unto them: 'What have I to do with your toil and efforts? For me the celestial journey has the same significance as for you the terrestrial.'

After some time the end of his life approached and the ship of his existence sank in the storm-swept waves.

And in that town there arose all at once a dome-shaped edifice made of pure solid crystal. *Śākyamuni* entered this domed building and slept there like a lion.⁴⁹ And from outside the people saw him in there owing to the transparency of the crystal. Yet there was no entrance and the gates which had first been open were now closed. And suddenly there could be seen a shining light in the form of a pillar rising up from the top of the dome.

Three days after this there came a stranger to be taught through *Śākyamuni*'s words. When he heard of his death, he mourned exceedingly and

⁴⁸ Viz. the Malla's.

⁴⁹ Reminiscences of certain conceptions from the Jātakas are here obvious; cf. for instance the Sigāla-Jātaka in Cowell, *l.c.*, Vol. II, pp. 5-6.

committed suicide, for the former occurrence was worse for him than his own death. Suddenly he cast up his eyes and saw *Śākyamuni* in Heaven. And all people saw him, being again sound of body. But *Śākyamuni* spake from Heaven to this man: ‘Grieve not, neither mourn, for me there is neither birth nor death, no beginning and no end, no past and no future.’

And when the man heard *Śākyamuni*’s words, he became joyful and of good cheer.

And the words and useful sayings of *Śākyamuni* have been collected and put together in a volume, which is called *K.shūr* (*Kanjur*).”⁵⁰

If one attempts to formulate a total impression of *Kamālāshrī*’s biography of *Buddha*, one can establish fundamentally that in its construction and contents it follows in the main the classic examples of the legendary traditions of the *Mahāyāna*; but, seen in detail, it reveals a considerable coarsening, in many points even a mutilation of its sources. Many of the different versions and variants met with here can certainly be attributed to this fact. Yet to my mind it would be erroneous to deny that *Kamālāshrī*’s *Life of Buddha* possesses a character of its own. It is perhaps not even too daring to consider it as the product of a special development which, bearing in mind its considerable syncretistic and not always specifically Buddhist line of thought, could best be placed in a border-country of the Buddhist world, which was also exposed to other religious currents. The circumstance that the *Life of Buddha* belongs to that of the *Sanskrit* tradition and shows no clear Far Eastern characteristics, makes it in my opinion not improbable that we may be dealing here with a product of *Kashmīr*, *Kamālāshrī*’s native land, or of North-West India in the wider sense.

V

According to Chapter 11 there are six stages of existence (metempsychosis): the infernal, the demoniacal, the animal, the human, an intermediary stage between the human and the angelic, and the angelic. A very full account is given of both the highest and the lowest stages, viz. of the *Paradises* and of the *Hells*.” The former are treated within the framework of a story which forms the second half of the eighth chapter: “On the

⁵⁰ Transcribed in this way in both versions. In my opinion it would be going too far to draw conclusions from this single and apparently chance mention of the *Kanjur* as to how far the latter had a decisive influence on the work.

Number of Years of *Śākyamuni*'s Life, his (Life) Circumstances and Sayings", and the fifteenth chapter: "On the Intermediary Stage between the Human and the Angelic," contained only in his Persian version. The description of the Hells, far more extensive than that of the Paradises, takes up the whole of the eleventh chapter, which also has been handed down only in the Persian version.

In the afore-mentioned story we are told how *Śākyamuni*, "known to the Brahmins as *Kṛt.m. (Gautama)*, viz. the Monk",⁵¹ accompanied by his disciples, meets the hermit *Vās.sht. (Vāsishṭa)*,⁵² who leads a life of strict asceticism, taking nourishment only once in seventy-two days. To *Śākyamuni*'s enquiry as to his physical and psychical decline, *Vāsishṭa* answers that this can be attributed to the asceticism which he imposes upon himself in order to obtain Paradise as reward. Hereupon *Śākyamuni* teaches him that the abstinence inherent in this ascetic life cannot lead him to the true End, because it arouses only feelings of anger and hate. Then *Vāsishṭa* implores to be shown the right Way and the following instructions are given him by *Śākyamuni*: to arise early in the morning, to cleanse himself and - kneeling and with his hands laid on his breast - in thoughts and words to resolve neither to menace the property of others nor to aim at (the life of) the proprietor; neither to lie nor to slander; to cherish no corrupt or rebellious thoughts, to covet no dispensations or prohibitions, to take no intoxicating drinks; not to indulge in dancing; to pursue no rhetorical or amorous conversations; not to listen to music, neither to smell nor to use perfume; to wear no costly attire, to sit neither on a throne nor on a mule, camel or other animal; and once a day before sunset, at midday, to take pure food, that is without killing an animal, and as much water as desired.⁵³

Then *Vāsishṭa* prays *Śākyamuni* to tell him about the world to come and he receives this answer: he who fasts in this way for one day will go to the Paradise named *S.tūrm.hārāj.hkā (Cāturmahārājika)*⁵⁴ which means that it belongs to the Four Kings who keep guard over it; one day of this Paradise corresponds to fifty years of this world, and those who inhabit it will therefore attain the age of 500. To this Paradise, the place of the stars, come the great and mighty of this world, those who excel in piety and

⁵¹ Cf. E. J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (London, 1933), p. 151.

⁵² Concerning *Vāsishṭa*, Pali *Vāseṭṭha*, cf. G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali proper names* (London, 1938), Vol. II, p. 860.

⁵³ As regards the ten rules of training, cf. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet* (London, 1895), p. 135; Thomas, *l.c.*, pp. 25-26.

⁵⁴ Cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie d. Inder* (Bonn u. Leipzig, 1920), p. 190 seq.

chastity and who are free from egotism and conceit (Chap. 15).⁵⁵

When *Vāsishṭa* asks for confirmation of what has been told, the Four Kings appear and bear witness to it.

Then *Sākyamuni* continues: He who on six days of every month, namely on the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 28th and 29th, keeps the fast in this manner, will go to a higher Paradise named *Trāy.śrīṣh. (Trāyastriṃśa)*. Its ruler is *Indra* of the Thousands Eyes. One hundred years in this world correspond to one day of that one, and accordingly its inhabitants become one thousand years old. To this Paradise come those who treat their parents well and who are generous, tolerant, patient and peace-loving (Chap. 15).

He, however, who under the same conditions fasts for more than six days a month, reaches a still higher Paradise, named *Yām. (Yāma)*, in which 200 years of this world correspond to one day; those who inhabit this Paradise therefore become 2000 years old. To this Paradise come those who keep aloof from the activities of mankind and endeavour to follow the Way of retirement (Chap. 15).

The following Paradise bears the name of *Tūsh.t. (Tuṣita)*; one day thereof corresponds to 400 years of this world, and thus the age of the inhabitants is 4000 years. In this Paradise enter those who have learned to a high degree the true and certain sciences, who do much good and encourage others to do good deeds (Chap. 15).

[The next Paradise bears the name *N.rmān.hr.tī (Nirmāṇarati)* and the age of its inhabitants is 8000 years.]⁵⁶ To this Paradise, the Paradise of the angels, come those who are fully abstinent and who shun the ten blameworthy deeds, and they become angels (Chap. 15).

And there is a still higher Paradise, named *P.r.n.rm.t.v.sh.v.r.tī (Paranirmitavaśavartin)*, in which 1600 years of this world are the same as one day, and those who live there accordingly become 16,000 years old.

To this Paradise come those who are contented, patient and magnanimous, who lead a praiseworthy life and who are acquainted with the sciences (Chap. 15). The ruler over these six Paradises and their inhabitants is the Devil (*Iblīs*).

And he who keeps the fast in this manner for a whole year reaches a still higher Paradise, in which the number of days amounts to twice that of the previous one and likewise too the life of its inhabitants is twice as long,

⁵⁵ The facts on the dwellers in this and the five following Paradises have been taken from Chapter 15.

⁵⁶ Omitted in the Persian MS, but must have been present originally, as is evident from Chapter 15.

⁵⁷ As regards the length of sojourn in the Paradises subsequent to the sixth Paradise, cf. the appropriate parts of my edition.

viz. one day corresponds to 3200 years of this world. And one Paradise follows on after the other according to the same calculation.

But besides these six Paradises⁵⁷ of the devil, there are seventeen others. All seventeen are of a material nature. After these, there follow four Paradises belonging to the spiritual sphere.

The great difference of time between the two categories of Paradises is set forth particularly in the last paragraph of the eighth chapter, where the length of the days and of life in the first and in the last Paradise are compared, calculated in terms of years of human life: fifty years as opposed to 3,355,443,200 years, and five hundred years as against 33,554,432,000 years.⁵⁸

VI

The infernal regions are dealt with in the eleventh chapter which bears the title: "On the causality of stages of human existence and the number of Hells, according to *Śākyamuni*".

The description of the eight Hells⁵⁹ is given by *Śākyamuni* to a certain *Pīr*, who questions him about recompense for human actions.

The first Hell, named *Ḍ.nz.vā* (*Samjīva*), is the abode of thieves, of those who have committed a murder from ignorance, fear or violence; of those who keep wild or domestic animals such as sheep, hens etc. in the house and who kill and devour them to satisfy their appetites; and further all those who with soul, heart and tongue cause pain to their fellow-creatures. Nothing is told about the infernal punishments inflicted during the sojourn there which last many years.

The second Hell, known as *Kāl.shūtr.* (*Kālasūtra*), serves as the abode of those who make attempts on the life of parents, brothers and sisters and relatives, who do them evil and deceive them with lies; those who slander and bring false accusations. In this Hell sinners are beaten to pieces, rise up again to new life and are then dismembered anew. The sojourn in this Hell is longer than in the previous one.

The third Hell bears the name of *Ṭāp.n.* (*Tāpana*) and is the dwelling-place of all those who have inflicted pain on monks, pious men, Brahmins and pure and virtuous persons; furthermore also of those who in the mountains have set fire to forests, trees and grass, thereby burning God's

⁵⁸ As regards further details cf. the appropriate parts of my edition.

⁵⁹ As regards the eight Hells cf. L. Feer, "L'Enfer Indien," in *JA*, 18ième série, XX (1892), p. 185 seq.; Kirfel, *l.c.*, p. 201 seq.

creatures. And the heat of this Hell is four times as great as that of the previous Hell and the iniquitous burn there for ever.

The fourth Hell is named *Br.tāp.n. (Pratāpana)* and is destined for those who prefer knowledge of the devil to that of God, and who hold their own temptations and carnal desires to be of God, and who lead (other) creatures astray; and those who deny both Heaven and Hell, and who follow paths of iniquity, and who oppress and harass those leading praiseworthy lives. This Hell, in its heat and length of sojourn, is still worse and lasts longer than the foregoing one.

The fifth Hell is called *S.nkāt. (Saṃghāta)* and is destined for those who kill and eat animals and birds. The word signifies that in this Hell there are many serpents and scorpions. The fire of this Hell is stronger than that of the other Hells.

The sixth Hell is known as *R.vr.v. (Rauvara)* and is destined for all those by whose soul, heart and tongue people are afflicted with distress and hardship; and for all those who judge men and who favour themselves and those belonging to them and are envious of others; and those who commit fraud with goods entrusted to them. They are all cut in pieces by the Sword of Revenge in this Hell and dogs, crows, ravens and owls will devour their flesh. And they twist and turn from one side to the other and these animals will eat of their limbs and they will burn in fire and utter cries of woe and lamentation. Therefore this Hell is called Raurava.

The seventh Hell is known as *M.hār.vr.v. (Mahāraurava)* and is the abode of those who illegally usurp the possessions of temples, of monks, Pīrs, Brahmans, Bakhshīs, widows, orphans and the poor; and furthermore of those who put to death persons seeking refuge with them. The heat of this Hell is even greater than that of the foregoing Hells and the poisonous wind (*Samūm*) causes the hair to fall from the limbs and the palate out of the mouth. The inhabitants of this Hell wail and lament.

The eighth Hell is called '*Avīs. (Avīcī)* and is the abode of all those who mistreat the virtuous, the pious, those favoured by God and eminent persons, and who think evil of them and say: "Their ungodliness has destroyed my Godliness"; and also those miscreants who murder their parents and those who make attempts on the life of their teacher and cause him affliction – their teacher who has taught them morals and has instructed them in science and religion. The bones of the dwellers in this Hell will be (ground up into) fine dust and then made whole again. The meaning of '*Avīs.* is to clench the fingers, viz. that there is not so much

⁶⁰ As regards the little Hells, cf. Feer, *l.c.*, p. 199 seq.; Kirfel, *l.c.*, p. 204.

good in that place as can be held between the clenched fingers, namely nothing good whatsoever. The life of the inhabitants of this Hell lasts one Kalpa.

Besides these eight Hells, other groups have still other Hells;⁶⁰ such as the Hell whose inhabitants lacerate each other with their nails, which are sharper and more cutting than swords. These inhabitants are called *As.n.k.* (*Asinakhā*), that is Sword-Nails, and they come to this Hell because they have striven against each other for power over the world, and have killed their warriors and supporters; such also as the Hell where the *Śālm.lī* (*Śālmali*) tree is to be found, whose branches are of red-hot iron, set with glowing iron thorns 16 engushts long. In this Hell comes he who takes up with the wife of another and has vicious and treacherous intentions with her and her servants. He (the culprit) finds himself then under this tree and perceives the woman above it. If he wishes to reach her then the thorns turn downwards and pierce his limbs, and if he succeeds in reaching the top, then the woman is at the bottom; if he then wishes to descend, the thorns turn upwards and again pierce his limbs; and when his punishment is ended the woman appears to him as *Dēv*, with flaming mouth and wishing to devour him; thereupon he declares remorsefully that in future he will repent and thus he attains liberation from this Hell; and every man who makes an attempt upon the life of his friend is taken to the Hell where there is a forest called '*As.b.tr.v.n.* (*Asipatravana*) that is Sword-Tree, and his body is cut to pieces with these swords and his corpse is devoured by wolves and jackals; he who appropriates illegally the possessions of others comes in the Hell of the fire-vomiting, iron mountain named *Hrvr* (?); it enters the throat (of the sinner) in the morning and is ejected through the lower parts in the evening and every day he nourishes and evacuates himself in this way; also those who constantly occupy themselves with hunting are in the Hell '*As.b.tr.v.n.* (*Asipatravana*); those who go fishing burn in a Hell named *V.yt.r.n.* (*Vaitaraṇī*) which means of melted copper; those who make double profits, who take much and give little, are ground to pieces in this Hell under a fiery wheel; all those who destroy Medreses, Ribāṭs, bridges and temples of other religions (than their own) and waste the money that has been given for these places and do not give account of it, and who prevent people from doing good works, for such there is a Way in this Hell filled with knives, swords and war-hatchets; they pass along this Way and all their limbs are cut to pieces and they become blind; and this punishment and pain are everlasting. All those who outwardly feign to be dervishes and clothe themselves as such but do not conduct their lives accordingly but dissemble

and play the hypocrite and deceive those around them, decay in this Hell and are devoured like dirt by worms. Furthermore all those who kill ants, worms and other reptiles without remorse but who (on the contrary) intentionally put to death still more, are beaten with red-hot grappling-irons. Finally mention is made of a Hell where the hard-hearted, the violent, the wrathful, the cruel, the shameless, liars and those who rejoice at the misfortunes of others are to be found, their punishment however is not named.

From the speculations given here on the number and nature of the Heavens and Hells, scarcely any certainty as to the origin of their sources can be obtained, except that they belong to the “northern” Sanskrit tradition. The fact that, as in the case in point, the original seven Heavens were increased four-fold, is not only characteristic of later Buddhism,⁶² and therefore possesses no distinctive significance. With respect to the Hells, the circumstance that the eight cold Hells of Northern Buddhism⁶² are not mentioned here, permits in any case of the restricted assertion that this train of thought originates not in the mountainous countries of Central Asia but rather that it can be traced back to Indian sources.

VII

The 14th chapter, similarly contained only in the Persian version, deals with human regeneration. It bears the title: “By what deeds is a human reborn as a human?”

On this question *Śākyamuni* gives the following instructions and orders:

The shortness of life can be ascribed to people’s killing and torturing animals during this life; he who will live long may not make attempts on the life of any animal, but on (that of) his own soul.

He who is unmannerly, ignorant and malicious will be regenerated either as a *Dēv* or as an animal; if however he is not ignorant and is conscious of his humanity, then he will be reborn as a human, but he will be fortunate or unfortunate in accordance with his deeds.

All who torture people, torment them, lay them in chains and attempt to kill them, will be struck down by serious diseases, scorching fever and protracted and distressing pains.

⁶¹ See Kirfel, *l.c.*, p. 190; Prof. Waldschmidt and other colleagues have kindly drawn my attention to the fact that even early Buddhism was acquainted with the three- to four-fold multiplication of the Heavens.

⁶² Cf. Kirfel, *l.c.*, p. 205.

He who takes from the possessions of others but gives away nothing of his own property, can in the next life gain nothing, notwithstanding all his trouble and exertion.

He who takes the possessions of others and spends them on charitable institutions and benevolent deeds, will be born in the next life into a distinguished family; if he then becomes wealthy and clever, he will possess nothing more of this world and will suffer great need.

He who covets not the goods of other people, but who earns by a diligent hand and by the sweat of his brow and who gives people of his possessions, will earn his bread in that life with but little trouble and exertion, and will be wealthy and powerful until the end of his life.

He who is generous, kind and benevolent towards everyone, will be reborn into a distinguished and rich family and he will be powerful; no one will deprive him of his possessions neither will they be able to dispose of them.

He who gives bread to the people, who establishes khans for the high and for the lowly and who often offers hospitality to people, will at the regeneration be granted a long life, health of body and mind, contentment and prosperity.

He who affords a place of rest to the poor, to wanderers and to the needy, will at the regeneration be noble, virtuous, handsome of countenance, of high rank, wealthy and loved by all; he will wear fine garments and will acquire money and possessions with ease.

He who gives shoes to the poor will at the regeneration possess good riding-animals.

He who builds ribāts, bridges, reservoirs, canals and roads will at the regeneration lead a peaceful life, will be well-to-do and happy, will have no obstacles to overcome and will see all his wishes fulfilled.

He who erects medreses, khanqahs and mighty temples will be reborn without a blemish, with a healthy constitution and build of body, without a defect; he will be a refuge and protector of (all) creatures and will have abundance of goods and chattels.

He who instructs men in the sciences will be reborn as an eminent scholar.

He who espouses the cause of the sick and suffering will at the regeneration be struck by no sickness or suffering.

He who gives candles or lights to others will at the regeneration have light in his eyes and his heart.

In short, every good deed performed and every assistance rendered to others in this life, will be rewarded accordingly at the regeneration.

Thus the good and evil which, on the face of it, one does to others is in reality done to oneself. Therefore confer benefits on thy neighbour as much as possible, but do it unselfishly, otherwise it will bear thee no fruit at the regeneration and it will befall thee just as him who drops the seed in barren soil, where nothing grows and ripens.

Śākyamuni says moreover that great advantage will be gained if one distributes one's gifts at the right time and in accordance with the need, and then from one's own lawful property and not from that which one takes away unlawfully and by force from others.

He also says that there are three things which may not be given to people, viz. arms, wine and poison, except when these three things bid fair to avert harm or to yield advantages, on the assumption that neither sickness, nor misery nor hardship arise from them.

He says furthermore that he who neither frequents the company of the wives of other men nor of mistresses, but, without having sullied himself, at the right time and in the right place in the lawful manner performs the act of cohabitation, will be reborn as a man and never as a woman.

Moreover he who pays attention to the wives of others and dies without having regretted it, will frequently be reborn, each time in another form, and after that one thousand times as a woman.

Further, if a woman is devout, modest and chaste and is slandered by people on this account, she will enter the world at the regeneration as a man.

And he who has no wife and lives chastely in solitary retirement, and he who takes neither wine nor intoxicating drinks, will at the regeneration be enlightened, learned, exceedingly wise, eloquent, benevolent and of good cheer.

And he who makes peace between enemies will be given many followers, servants, warriors and subjects at the metempsychosis.

Furthermore, he who honestly serves his teachers, his parents, his pi and his spiritual leaders, who fulfils their wishes and heart's desire, will at the regeneration be raised to the rank of a king and monarch.

And he who ridicules and despises people, who talks libel and makes sport of them and considers himself better than others, will be reborn blind, naked, squint-eyed, weak, lame, small and full of infirmities.

And he who devotes himself to science, but keeps it to himself and fails to teach those who are deserving of it, will at the metempsychosis remain ignorant and blind.

And he who utters words which cause sorrow, pain and chagrin to others, will be dumb and unhappy at the regeneration. And every man

who turns good words into bad, will be reborn dumb. And every man who does now good and then evil (just as it pleases him), will at the regeneration experience the same thing.

VIII

Relatively short is the 13th chapter which deals with the last stage but two of the metempsychosis, the "animal", and which bears the title: "By what deeds is a man reborn in the form of different animals?"

According to Śākyamuni's words he who loves his wife to such an extent that he cannot be separated from her will be reborn as a tick or maggot in the hide of milk-cattle.

He who is tyrannical, cruel, wicked and murderous will be reborn as a worm, serpent or poisonous insect.

He who is selfish and makes himself out to be great and important, while showing contempt for others; who considers himself to be the wisest and greatest of all, will be reborn as an ass, an ox and jackal.

He who is miserly and envious and who is malicious and hot-tempered in his dealings with people, becomes an ape, a cow, an owl or other feathered creature.

He who strikes terror into his subordinates, beats them and puts them in chains when they are innocent, becomes a mule, a cow or beast of burden.

Those who are violent, warlike and meat-eaters become flesh-devouring wild-animals.

Those who are tyrannical, cruel and bloodthirsty become dragons and hounds.

IX

The 12th chapter, which survives only in the Persian version, deals with those men whose conduct results in their becoming Demons (Dēvs) in the metempsychosis, and with their actions.⁶³

According to Śākyamuni's words, he who arbitrarily appropriates for

⁶³ This chapter, the title of which runs: "By what deeds is man reborn as a Dēv, acting as a Dēv?" deals apparently with the Prēta's and other malignant spirits. Cf. R. S. Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism in its modern development* (London-Edinburgh, 1860), pp. 58-59, 458; E. J. Eitel, *Handbook for the student of Chinese Buddhism* (London, 1870), p. 97; Waddell, *l.c.*, p. 96, n. 5, p. 469, n. 1; Kirfel, *l.c.*, pp. 206-7; W. E. Soothill-L. Hodous, *A dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms* (London, 1937), p. 341a, etc.

himself the food of others, who fights and strives from insolence and malice, who gives nothing of his possessions to others will become a Demon named *Q.t.bvt.n.* (*Kaṭabhūta*)⁶⁴ and will feed on bore-worms.

All those who by force take something away from children or who exploit them become Demons in the same category, and their nourishment consists of the unclean blood of women after confinement.

All those who know no mercy, no noble sentiments nor generosity, who feign to possess nothing and who constantly complain of their poverty and their misery, become Demons named *K l h K'd l* (*Kāla Kañjā*)⁶⁵ and feed only on each other's throat-ulcers.

And those who are self-seeking and avaricious and who prevent others from giving to people who are deserving and also when they are undeserving, will become Demons who are constantly hungry and thirsty, but whose belly resembles the ocean and whose mouth is like the eye of a needle.

Those who accumulate wealth, who do not eat, who give no alms and say that they are reserving it for their children, become Demons named *Sh.ṭāl. D.nābā* (*Satāla* [and] *Dhanapāla*)⁶⁵ Their nourishment consists of the drops and crumbs which fall to the earth from the food offered to the dead.

He who takes away their property from others, gives it to others and at last regrets having given it becomes a Demon who lives on vomitings, slime and mucus.

He who utters insulting words like knives and javelins to the people becomes a Demon called *Ūlk. Mūk.* (*Ulkā-mukha*),⁶⁷ out of whose mouth issues constant fire.

He who constantly wages war, causes insurrection and to whom goodness, benevolence and kindness are foreign, becomes a Demon named *Sv.rūb.k.* (*Svarūpaka*).⁶⁸ His food consists of flies and worms.

He who is a robber and noxious person, but who also performs a good deed now and then, becomes a Demon named *K.mbānd.* (*Kumbhāṇḍa*).⁶⁹ His nourishment consists of the alms which he obtains from people by cunning when he stands by the roadside feigning blindness.

⁶⁴ Eitel, *l.c.*, p. 54: *Kaṭabhūta*, or *Kaṭapūta*, a class of *Prētas*; Waddell, *l.c.*, p. 369; Soothill, *l.c.*, p. 315a.

⁶⁵ Cf. Kirfel, *l.c.*, p. 198.

⁶⁶ The inaccuracy of the transcription of the Persian text admits here and elsewhere only of conjectures. Cf. Kirfel, *l.c.*, p. 273.

⁶⁷ Cf. Soothill, *l.c.*, p. 448b.

⁶⁸ Cf. Kirfel, *l.c.*, p. 273.

⁶⁹ Cf. Kirfel, *l.c.*, p. 195; Soothill, *l.c.* p. 204b.

He who kills animals of all sorts and gives them to (the) people to eat will become a Demon named 'Arāks (*Rākṣasa?*).⁷⁰ As opposed to the other Demons, he feeds on any food he can get.

He who does deeds of violence, is a slanderer or a miser, becomes a Demon named *Pāt.* (*Prēta?*), frightful and abhorrent to behold.

He who is of base character and who wrongs people everywhere becomes a Demon named *Byvt.* (*Bhūta?*),⁷¹ which means silence, who says nothing and is ill-disposed towards all people.

He who is hard-hearted and who on account of his evil disposition can see nothing good in people, he who loves that which intoxicates and narcotics, becomes a Demon named *Y.ksh.* (*Yakṣa*),⁷² by others called (only) *Dēv.*

He who, though in ignorance, treats his parents well and refuses nothing to his relations, becomes a Demon also called *Y.ksh.* (*Yakṣa*), yet belonging to the *Perī*'s and being always in a state of comfort.

He who, driven by envy and jealousy, covetously seizes the goods of this world becomes a powerful Demon. If he commits a venial sin, he will become a *Perī* after death; if he possesses the character and attributes of the Demons, he will with certainty become a Demon (*Dēv*).

He who adorns himself with raiment, perfumes and colours and for whom power and affliction diminish in importance will become an Angel gifted with a voice so beautiful that the other Angels will listen to it and sing.

X

Chapter 18 (Arabic version: 19) entitled: "On the stages of men, reward(s) and punishment(s), Paradise and Hell, commandment(s) and prohibition(s), according to the words of *Śākyamuni*" chiefly contains several fundamental commandments of *Śākyamuni*'s. For this reason it is quoted here in full:

"*Śākyamuni* said that this imperfect, weak body can bear neither the fire of Hell, nor the reward of Paradise. In that other form of existence he (man) therefore obtains a body which can bear reward and punishment (in equal measure).

"And *Śākyamuni* said also that part of the human race dies in knowledge and is born in ignorance, and another part dies in ignorance and

⁷⁰ Cf. Eitel, *l.c.*, p. 102; Kirfel, *l.c.*, p. 273-274; Soothill, *l.c.*, p. 471b.

⁷¹ Cf. Waddell, *l.c.*, p. 369; Soothill, *l.c.*, p. 103a.

⁷² Cf. Eitel, *l.c.*, pp. 172-73; Soothill, *l.c.*, p. 253b.

is born in knowledge; and the latter are those who are perfect and who will reach their Aim.

“*Śākyamuni* was asked whether it was possible to enter Heaven and Paradise in this body. *Śākyamuni* answered: ‘If a heavy body attempts to reach those spiritual places, it will shrink and will fall down, after this another body will be created, suited to that spiritual sphere.’

“Concerning that which is allowed and that which is forbidden, he said furthermore: ‘Drink no wine, kill no animal for the sake of food and make not your stomach the grave of living creatures; neither kill harmful animals, insects and reptiles, for had they not been hurt in a previous form of existence, they would not do the same in this present existence.’

“To the sect of the *Śrāvakas* and *Pratyekabuddhas*,⁷³ he said that they must earn their food by begging; and if then food of animal nature was thrown into their beggar’s bowl, then they should not enquire as to its origin but should eat all, whatever it might be, to pacify the stomach.”

“And to the sect of the *Samyaksambuddhas*⁷⁴ he said: ‘Since ye have attained the power of discrimination between good and evil, ye must yourselves know what to do, what may be eaten, and that animals may not be tortured. But if ye are hungry and are given a dead animal or one that has been put to death, eat it then, but in no case may ye grant permission for animals to be killed.’ ”

XI

An example of the dialogue in riddle-form frequently used in Buddhist teaching is contained fortunately in both versions, viz. in the 16th and 17th chapters respectively. It bears the title: “On the questions put by an angel to *Śākyamuni* and his answers thereto.” In the following passage this dialogue is reproduced verbatim:

“While *Śākyamuni* was meditating in solitude in his place of devotion, called Jetavana, an angel appeared to him at midnight and prayed to be allowed to put a few questions before him which he should then answer. Upon *Śākyamuni* having granted him this request, the angel asked: ‘What is the drawn sword that is both naked and cutting? From what poison do all those who eat of it die? What is the fire that consumes the heart? Which is the darkness darker than all darknesses?’

“Thereupon *Śākyamuni* answered him as follows: ‘The cutting naked

⁷³ Cf. Chapter 2.

⁷⁴ The prominence given to the “*Samyaksambuddhas*” is here again evident.

sword is the hard angry word; the deathly poison is the sight of beautiful women, intercourse with whom is sought by the heart of man; the fire which consumes the heart is wrath and violence; darker than all darknesses is ignorance.'

"The second question was: 'What food must one take with one? What is the gain of this world? What is the armour that cannot be laid aside? What is the weapon that never becomes blunt?'

"The answers given by *Śākyamuni* were: 'The food one must carry with one is goodness; the gain of this world is that which one gains without causing affliction to others; the armours which always protect the body is forbearance and patience; the weapon that never grows blunt is the ultimate wisdom.'

"The angel's third question was: 'Who is the thief and what is that which is stolen? What is the Good that has no end and which none can steal? For whom is the Way cut off and the world and the life hereafter snatched away?'

"*Śākyamuni* answered: 'That which Thou wouldst thoughtlessly take away, is that which is stolen; the thief is he who would take it; the fear of God is that which has no end and he who fears not God, to him are lost the world and the life to come.'

"The fourth question: 'Who is he who lives in peace in the world? Who is rich? Who is a hypocrite and who a deceiver?'

"Hereupon *Śākyamuni* gave the following answer: 'He who is easily contented and is satisfied with his subsistence lives in peace; he who is content with his possessions is rich; a hypocrite is he who wears the fear of God and virtue as his upper clothing; a deceiver is he who avouches himself to be a fearer of God but is not such.'

"The fifth question of the angel was: 'Who is the true friend and who the wicked enemy? What is the severest pain and what the greatest good?'

"*Śākyamuni* answered: 'Good deeds are the true friend and sin and crime the wicked enemy; the severest pain is Hell pain and the greatest good lies in regarding Man himself and the world as null and void.'

"The sixth question put by the angel was: 'What is that which is pleasing to people but is displeasing to them? What disease causes great suffering and what doctor and what medicine liberate people from all pain and torment?'

"To this *Śākyamuni* gave the following reply: 'That which appears pleasing superficially and is harmful is that which is of the earth and it is pleasant to look upon, but with regard to the End it is harmful; that which is useful but which appears displeasing is to relinquish and surrender this

world; the disease which causes much pain is the consequence of covetousness, sensuality and pleasure; the doctor and also the medicine which cure all diseases is the perfect human being, who is called by *Hindu* sages '*Samyaksambuddha*'.

"The angel's seventh question was: 'What is that which has taken the people captive and cast them in fetters? What is it that has made all people obedient? What is it that destroys friendship and why do not all people enter Paradise?'

"Then *Śākyamuni* gave his reply: 'Ignorance has cast the people in fetters; justice and confession of one's own ignorance, weakness and imperfection have made all people obedient; envy destroys friendship and avarice and sin are the reasons why all people do not enter Paradise, for they are thereby prevented.'

"The eighth question put by the angel was: 'By what means does the number of one's friends increase and of one's enemies decrease? What must one do in order to enter Paradise Eden? What must one do to reach God?'

"Hereupon *Śākyamuni* replied: 'Through generosity the number of one's friends increases and through friendship that of one's enemies decreases; through piety and honesty one enters Paradise, and when one rises beyond innate intellect one reaches God.'

"The ninth question was: 'What is it that does not submit to the influence of the four elements, Earth, Air, Water and Fire?'

"To this *Śākyamuni* replied: 'That which the elements of nature are not able to change are good works.'

"The tenth question was: 'Who is it who has left this world and taken nothing with him?'

"*Śākyamuni* answered: 'He who possessed wealth and who conferred no benefits nor gave any alms.'

"When the angel had ended his questions and had received the answers, he cast himself on the ground before *Śākyamuni*, kissed the earth and vanished."

The Far Eastern origin of this dialogue seems to me evident from the special prominence given to the "*Samyaksambuddhas*". According to *Kamālaśrī*'s data, Tibet and the land of the *Tanguts*⁷⁵ in particular might be considered, nevertheless it would appear that we are here dealing originally with a *Chinese product*.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Cf. Chapter 3.

⁷⁶ A dialogue between Buddha and a *Dēva*, agreeing in many respects with the present one, is to be found in P. Carus' book, *The Gospel of Buddha* (London, 1902), Chapter

XII

A definition of the deity, maybe a kind of creed, is to be found in Chapter 10, contained only in the Persian version and bearing the title: "On the knowlege of the words customarily applied to Him who is worshipped (*ma'būd*)."

Unfortunately the original words are not reproduced in the transcription, the chapter beginning at once with "the translation of those words and the significance of the characteristics (of the deity)".

According to this, the deity is: "A great Lord, without beginning and without end, truly and verily the Maker of all works and (the Creator) of all creatures, vigilant, wise, indubitably without faults, knowing generally and specifically the cares of (all) creatures, without an equal and incomparable, nourisher of all, leader of all, guide of the willing and the unwilling, protector and helper of the angels and their supporter on the way to attaining the first and the last perfect knowledge, acting by free will, living and lasting for ever, seeing and hearing in wisdom, pardoning and rewarding, perfect in the *Dīkr*."

It is said that there is a being, an angel, *Lūk.shv.r.* (*Lōkēshvara*),⁷⁷ in Chinese named: *Kv.nshī* (— *Kuan-shai[-yin]*),⁷⁸ whose task is to liberate souls from the imperfect animal form and to raise them to the human stage. *Lūk.shv.r.* redeems the perfect souls unceasingly from the imperfect bodies."

The pronouncedly theistic characterising of the 'Worshipped One' ("*ma'būd*") in the first paragraph of this chapter leaves hardly any doubt

LVIII. As source Carus cites S. Beal's *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese* (London, 1871). Unfortunately this citation is incorrect, for otherwise we should possess here a further indication of the Far Eastern origin of this text.

Kamālāshrī's dialogue bears in general a singular resemblance to similar questions formulated by deities visiting Buddha in the *Samyuttanikāya*, but as regards details I have been unable to establish any further agreement (cf. *Samyutta-Nikāya* . . . transl. by W. Geiger, 2 vols., München-Beubiberg 1925-30, especially Vol. I, pp. 1-108). I am indebted to Prof. Waldschmidt for drawing my attention to the fact that the Chinese translation of the *Samyuktāgama* (*Sūtra* 1291 P. I. Vol. 2, p. 355 c of the complete translation, = *Sūtra* 289 *ibid.*, p. 4746 of the partial translation of the *Samyuktāgama*) contains a passage which corresponds relatively well with the angel's ninth question and the answer to it (= Carus, *l.c.*, paragraphs 12 and 13). According to this Chinese translation thy deity subsequently takes leave of the Buddha, which is in agreement with Carus but in contradiction to Kamālāshrī.

⁷⁷ Exactly *Lōkēshvararājā*, Lord of the world, an epithet of *Avalōkitēshvara*. Cf. Eitel, *l.c.*, p. 62; Soothill, *l.c.*, p. 449a.

⁷⁸ Cf. Eitel, *l.c.*, pp. 18-20; Soothill, *l.c.*, p. 449; V. N.-D. Mironov, "Buddhist Miscellanea: Avalokiteçvara - Kuan - yin," in: *JRAS* (1927), pp. 241-252, and M.-Th. de Maltmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara* (Paris, 1948), p. 263 seq.

to my mind that here really the *Ādibuddha* is meant, as described in the later poetic version of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, viz. as the "beginning of all things, arising out of itself, the first Lord".⁷⁹ It is true that our description shows other traits which go fairly far beyond the Indian "passive" idea of the *Urbuddha* and which call to mind most easily certain *Iranic* conceptions.⁸⁰ By what means such a transformation of the original conception may have been effected cannot be ascertained from this text, but at the most surmised.⁸¹

As far as the localizing – even though not the original – of this interpretation of the *Ādibuddha* is concerned, it can be gathered from the short appendix that possibly it was spread among the "*Samyaksambuddhas*" by which – as is evident here – *Kamālashrī* means in particular the community of *Avalokiteśvara*, thus in the land of the *Tangut* and in *Tibet*.

XIII

One of the longest chapters (Chap. 17 Persian version; Chap. 18 Arabic version) deals with the appearance of the Buddha Maitreya. *Ānanda*, the first of the disciples of *Śākyamuni*, relates that his teacher had told him the following: When once in the grove of "*J.t.v.n.*" (*Jetavana*) in the precincts of the town "*Rāj.kr.h.*" (*Rājagṛha*), he was lying in the shadow of a mighty tree in which the bird *K.l.nd.k.* (*Kalandaka*) nested,⁸² with about 1350 disciples, brothers and friends, he was asked by a very clever and wise man of the name of "*Shārīb.tr.*" (*Śāriputra*) about the person of the "*Mītrī*" (*Maitreya*), his teaching, his mission, his appearance and his departure. *Śākyamuni* answered him, that the following are the signs of

⁷⁹ Cf. M. Winternitz, *Geschichte d. indischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1920), Vol. II, pp. 238–39; G. K. Nariman, *Literary history of Sanskrit Buddhism* (Bombay, 1920), pp. 74–75. The epithets employed admit in my opinion of no other identification for the anonymous deity than that of the *Ādibuddha*. There seems to be too little evidence of their characteristic traits to enable one to assume that *Amitābha* or *Amitāyus* is intended here.

⁸⁰ The designation of *Ahūra Mazda* as creator of the material world, as protector, guardian and judge is certainly known from the *Avesta* (e.g. *Yasht* I, XII, XIII etc.), but also from the *Pehlevi* literature (e.g. from the *Mēnōkē xrat*). In particular Prof. W. Lenz (Hamburg) has kindly drawn my attention to the *Iranic* character of this paragraph.

⁸¹ For the influence on Buddhism in Western Turkestan of Zoroastrianism, cf. for instance A. v. Gabain, "Buddhistische Türkenmission," in *Asiatica, Festschrift F. Weller*, p. 167. It seems not impossible that the transformation of the original conception of the *Ādibuddha* may be sought in this very milieu.

⁸² Cf. Eitel, *l.c.*, p. 52; Soothill, *l.c.*, p. 316a.

the appearance of the *Buddha Maitreya*; the waters of the sea will sink to the bottom and the earth will broaden out and King "*S.gr.v.r.d.*" (*Cakravartin*) will be ruling. And the earth, which today measures 6800 leagues (parasangs), will at that time extend to 100,000 leagues.⁸³ And all people will be prosperous and wealthy, and nobody will suffer from a burden, from care or from sickness. And the earth will be covered with grass and herbs. The earth will be so soft that wherever man treads he will experience the feeling of feathers, or cotton. And the corn will be reaped without having been sown, and the food will be sweet corn. And the trees, all of which will be one parasang high, will be adorned with precious stones and flowers. And men will live to become 80,000 years old⁸⁴ and will know no discomforts other than those of growing old and of the taking of nourishment.⁸⁵ Girls will marry at the age of 500.

And there will be a town with the name of "*Kit.m.t.*" (*Ketumatī*), an abode of the virtuous and noble-minded, with the peculiarity that everything that humans can desire will be found there. The balconies of the houses will be built of the seven jewels and will be half a league high, full of flower-gardens with fountains where water-birds will abound. The town will be surrounded by a deep moat, and around this (there will be) seven rows of many-coloured trees consisting of four jewels (Arabic version: adorned with four jewels). On these trees there will be roofs with many large and small bells, through whose enchanting music those who mourn and are heavy-hearted will find new life and boundless joy.

In this town a glorious and mighty king named "*S.nk.*" (*Śaṅkha*) will reign and he will rule over the four Climates (*Dvīpas*), and his forces will be of four kinds, namely: elephants, horses, infantry and war-chariots. He will have seven jewels, namely the elephant-jewel, the horse-jewel, the man-jewel, the woman-jewel, the treasury-jewel, the night-jewel and the weapon-jewel.⁸⁶ He will have one thousand sons and four treasures, the

⁸³ Cf. E. Leumann, *Maitreya-Samiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten* (Strassburg, 1919), p. 246.

⁸⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 228, 238, 258; E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran* (Berlin u. Leipzig, 1928), pp. 150–151.

⁸⁵ Cf. Leumann, *ibidem*, p. 282, and Abegg, *ibidem*, p. 151.

⁸⁶ The account of the seven jewels differs in a few details from the version already known (cf. Leumann, *ibidem*, p. 96 and *passim*, and Abegg, *ibidem*, p. 151 and *passim*). To all appearances these variations are simply confusions. Thus the Wheel Jewel, which is absent in the enumeration, may have stood in the place of the otherwise unknown Man Jewel, and the so-called Night Jewel may have been confused with the Pearl Jewel. An indication in this direction may be found in the fact that the Arabic text adds: "the Night Jewel (*Ġauhar al-leil*) that is called the Night-illuminating Jewel (*Gauhari shabafrūz*)" (the Persian text has only: "the Night-illuminating Jewel"). It is

nature and quantity of which are beyond description. They are guarded by the four kings: "*B.nk.l.*" (*Piṅgala*) in the land of "*K.l.n.k.*" (*Kaliṅga*), "*B.nd.q.*" (*Pāṇḍuka*) in "*Mith.l.*" (*Mithilā*), "*Ī.hb.t.*" (*Elapatra*) in "*Kānd.r.h.*" (*Gāndhāra*) and "*Sh.nk.*" (*Śaṅkha*) in "*Vār.n.s.*" (*Vārāṇasī — Benares*).⁸⁷ And the latter town will then be known as "*Kīt.m.t.*" (*Ketu-matī*).

And King *Śaṅkha* will have as his attendant an extremely wise Brahmin with a wide knowledge of the four books, named "*Br.hmā b rvht*".⁸⁸ And into the womb of his wife, "*Br.hmāv.tī*" (*Brahmāvātī*), a woman renowned for her beauty and virtue, the *Maitreya*, descending from the fourth heaven, "*Tūsīt.*" (*Tuṣita*), will penetrate like a drop. And ten months later this woman will be walking in a pleasure-garden and, neither sleeping nor waking, neither sitting nor standing, she will grasp the branch of a tree and will give birth to the *Maitreya*. He will come forth out of her right side, as the sun appears out of the clouds, and will send forth rays of salvation and redemption; undefiled and untouched by wetness, alike the lotus which comes forth unwetted by the water. And from the place where he appears, he will pour light and glory into all dark infernal regions even into the spiritual world. And after his birth he will take seven steps; wherever he treads, a treasure and a flower-garden will spring forth. And he will look to the four winds and will say that this is his last birth, and that he will not return to the world again; that he will leave it solitary and pure as did his predecessors. After this they will bring warm rain-water and will cleanse his body. Then heavenly raiment will fall from the sky like rain and the archangels will bring a white sunshade to protect his head.⁸⁹

Then the King of the Second heaven, named *Indra*, will appear and will lift up the boy. After attending to his needs and giving him nourishment, he will place him in his mother's arms. Then a chariot adorned with jewels will be brought from Heaven. Mother and son will be lifted into it and it will be drawn by the angels. The music of drums, kettle-drums, flutes and stringed instruments will resound from the sky. And at his departure flowers will rain down from Heaven and tulips will spring forth out of the earth.

interesting that this definition of the Night Jewel agrees with that of the Mudra of the North-Aryan description. Cf. Leumann, *l.c.*, p. 88.

⁸⁷ Cf. Abegg, *l.c.*, p. 156.

⁸⁸ Error for *Brahmāyu(s)*? (Leumann, *l.c.*, pp. 16-17; Abegg, *l.c.*, p. 156); the variant *Subrahman*, which otherwise predominates, is unlikely.

⁸⁹ Cf. Leumann, *l.c.*, pp. 239-240, 248.

At this time pregnant women will give birth with ease. And when his father perceives that he bears all the thirty-two signs, he will rejoice greatly and will know with certainty that his son will become either a prophet or a world-king (text: ruler over all two-legged creatures).⁹⁰ When he has attained maturity he will come to the realization that the world is made up only of suffering and misery, and he will retire from his fellow-men and will prefer poverty and God's Way above temporal power, in order to save creation from sickness, old age and death. And 84,000 people, of the same age as himself, will go with him into the wilderness. There they will lie down in the shade of a mighty tree and each of them will receive a staff, a beggar's bowl, a monk's cowl and garment from Heaven. The *Maitreya* will sit down under this tree, whose branches will be fifty parasangs high – the branches of all trees are only six parasangs high – and he will receive the revelation of the creator of both worlds. Hereupon he will admonish the multitude with mildness and benevolence. And of the thousand prophets of the *Bhadra Kalpa*, he will be the seventh. And the people will honour and obey his commandments. And the place where he fulfils his mission will be one hundred parasangs in extent.

And when his message reaches King *Śaṅkha*, the King will distribute all that is in his power and possession among the needy, and with 84,000 men will join the *Maitreya* and will become his disciple (*Murīd*). And in the same way his father *Brahmā* with 84,000 followers will become his disciple and Queen "*V.śākā*" (*Viśakhā*), *Śaṅkha*'s wife, with 84,000 women, will pledge him obedience. And countless people will recognize him as a prophet and will become his disciples.⁹¹

Then the *Maitreya* will tell the multitude that the Way which he teaches them to follow has in truth already been laid by *Śākyamuni*, and that all those who in the past had listened to the teaching of *Śākyamuni* will now come to him as obedient disciples and will follow in his steps. And all those who had laid flowers, lamps, perfumes and such-like before the statue of *Śākyamuni*, will now hasten to join him and will listen to his instruction (the *Maitreya*'s). And those who had placed candlesticks to the honour of *Śākyamuni* and had lighted a lantern or a candle, or who had burnt sweet-smelling substances, will be present at the *Maitreya*'s time; they will be exempted from the punishment of the grave and from interrogation by the two angels of Death, *Munkir* and *Nakir*. And they will return to the earth as many times as that candle-stick has parts, or in accordance with the number of parts from which they had made *Śākya*-

⁹⁰ Cf. Leumann, *l.c.*, p. 239.

⁹¹ Cf. Leumann, *l.c.*, pp. 240–41.

muni's statue, and each time they will become King of the Four Climates. And the degree of their knowledge will increase until they have reached the stage of prophet.

And likewise *Śākyamuni* said that the voice of the *Maitreya* will penetrate everywhere and that the *Maitreya* will hear the words of every man and his eyes will see the six worlds without distinction; his Light will reach all places of darkness and light. His outward and inward senses will be golden and the length of his figure eighty *gez* (= arab. *dirā'*), his breadth will be 20 *gez* and his face 10 *gez*. And he will teach 80,000 (Arabic version: 86,000) youths of the same age.⁹²

Then they (the Brahmins) will be invited by King *Śaṅkha* to a far-off, high meeting-house, filled with many kinds of precious stones, and they will be allowed to plunder it. The Brahmins will carry everything away. When the *Maitreya*, who will have observed all this from a distance, sees this place deprived of its jewels, he will say that this is the way with all worldly pleasures. And furthermore that every man who in *Śākyamuni*'s time has fasted for one day according to the former custom, will now belong to his community, and that each man who is a member of the religious community of *Śākyamuni* and has shown friendship and obedience, will rise up from the grave and will obey him and be purified from all his sins.

And the number of followers of the *Maitreya* will reach a figure indicated in the terminology of the *Hindu*'s as four "*Kūṭī*" (*Koṭis*), each "*Kūṭī*" being 100,000,000.

And the *Maitreya* will take up his abode with his followers in the town of *Ketumatī*, and the angels in Heaven will strew flowers called "*Māṇḍār.v.*" (*Mandāra*) upon the *Maitreya* and his followers. And *Indra* and *Brahmā* will descend from Heaven to worship him. The inhabitants of the town will adorn the ways along which he has to pass with flowers and sweet-smelling substances, and there will be great rejoicing.

Then will *Indra* praise and magnify the *Maitreya* because he has saved all men from infernal fire and from fear, and will hail him as lord of the angels. Then the devil of the *Maitreya* called "*M.h r d k*"⁹³ will appear and will praise and obey him. And *Brahmā*, the King of the Seven Heavens, will also hasten to join him and will worship and magnify the *Maitreya*. Then they will question him on the nature of the Return and of

⁹² Cf. Leumann, *l.c.*, p. 240.

⁹³ Perhaps "*Maharddhika*", "possessing great powers of magic"? No divine or diabolical being bearing this or another name is known in connection with the *Maitreya*.

the Future Life and they will pray him to lead them on the Right Way to the True Aim. And the *Maitreya* will instruct them, will warn them of chastisement and will remind them of their sins, until all have been saved from ignorance and error. So that finally none will remain ignorant and all people will have attained wisdom and knowledge. Therefore they will all become pure and virtuous. And the *Maitreya*, who will live on the earth for 60,000 years,⁹⁴ will then be the leader of 100,000,000 *Koṭis* and will guide them all on the Right Way. Then he will announce to them his departure from the earth and will leave the transitory world for the intransitory. And thenceforth his words and deeds will remain with men for hundreds of thousands of years, and his sayings and narrations will be written down and handed on from generation to generation.

And – thus *Śākyamuni* ended his account – just as he possesses the characteristics of his successor the *Maitreya*, so will the coming *Maitreya* also possess the signs of his successor. He will bear the name of his predecessor and will have the same praiseworthy qualities and will utter the same words as he (*Śākyamuni*) has said.

To attribute our *Maitreya*-version with any certainty to a particular province of the *Buddhist* world entails considerable difficulty owing to a lack of facts which would help to form a conviction. In any case the *Sanskrit* forms which appear point to the northern *Sanskrit* tradition,⁹⁵ and this circumstance may provide evidence of *Kamālashrī*'s having relied here directly upon *N.W. Indian* or perhaps even *Kashmirian* texts; but the possibility of *Chinese* intermediary⁹⁶ sources must not be lost to view.

XIV

If now, to sum up, we consider the different parts of the original Persian version of *Rashīd al-Dīn – Kamālashrī*'s work from the point of view of their probable origin, it is clearly impossible to gain any sort of uniform impression; for while the actual life of *Buddha* may perhaps most easily be claimed as a *Kashmirian* product, there are other long portions, like the chapters on the stages of existence, which demonstrate in the main common *Buddhist* traits belonging to *India*; others again, like the dia-

⁹⁴ Cf. Leumann, *l.c.*, pp. 263, 243.

⁹⁵ Cf. Abegg, *l.c.*, pp. 155–56.

⁹⁶ A partially marked conformity with *I-tsing*'s translation of a "*Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*" in the year 70 cannot in my opinion be denied. Cf. Leumann, *l.c.*, p. 237 et seq.

logue between *Śākyamuni* and the angel, or the so-called "creed", point to the *Far East* as their source; still others, such as the essay on the *Maitreya*, are of dubious origin, possibly *Indian*, possibly *Far Eastern*, etc.

Thus various traditions and conceptions from the different provinces of the *Buddhist* world are here in *Kamālashrī*'s treatise united into one whole. But this assertion precludes the assumption expressed at the beginning that *Kamālashrī* possessed only a one-sided *Kashmirian* acquaintance with *Buddhism*. Yet before we draw our conclusions from this, we should like first to throw a glance at the list of Books, preserved in the later *Arabic* version of our work, in order to see whether it also shows the same syncretistic traits as the opus itself, or whether it bears traces of a more definite orientation.

It is a list, unfortunately only fragmentary, of *Buddhistic* scripts, accompanied by a short summary of their contents, which has been added to the *Arabic* translation as Chapter 16. To all appearances we are dealing here with a selection of the religious works in circulation among the *Buddhists* of the *Mongol Empire* and probably also of *Iran*, so that the importance of this document, regarded also in general, cannot be assessed too highly.

Of the ten scripts described therein (an eleventh is only partly preserved), six have appeared with titles which in whole or in part reproduce the *Sanskrit* title of the same in *Arabic* transcription. The remaining books are designated only by their *Arabic* titles.

LIST OF BOOKS WHICH HAVE SURVIVED ONLY IN THE ARABIC VERSION

THE BOOK "AB.R.M.TĀY." ON "SH.KĀV.T." (SUKHĀVATĪ), WHICH IS THE PARADISE IN WHICH 'AM.TĀ B.RKHĀN (AMITA-BURKHĀN) IS TO BE FOUND.⁹⁷

His life lasts 84,000 kalpa. And each kalpa corresponds to a space four

⁹⁷ From the title and contents one would think here primarily of such scripts as: *Āpārimitāyur-dhāraṇī*, *Āpārimitāyur-sūtra*, or *Āpārimitāyurjñāna-sūtra*, which has been translated into many languages (cf. E. J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist thought* [London, 1933], p. 188); of Mongolian translations in particular of the *Dhāraṇī*: *Ārya Āpārimitāyurjñānābhisekahṛdaya nāma* (L'Essence du sublime Amitāyus qui donne la longue vie); L. Ligeti, "La collection mongole Schilling von Canstadt," in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XXVII (Leiden, 1930), p. 164.

parasangs wide and four parasangs deep, filled with poppy-seed, each grain representing one year. The sum of these years shows the length of one kalpa. And it is said that every man who recites the Book of 'Ab.r.m. tāj), daily, dons a clean garment of white muslin and performs the daily ablutions, will live long and, when he dies, will be taken to *Amita-Burkhān* in the Paradise already mentioned. And every one who hears what is recited from this Book will also go to Paradise when he dies.

THE BOOK "P.NJ.R.KHSH.H" (PAÑCARAKSHĀ).⁹⁸

It is said that everyone who reads this book with honest intents, a pure heart and assuming that he is fasting, is spared from all evil, difficulties, starvation, sudden death, foreign armies and fatal illnesses. And every one who hears any of the words of this book, enters Paradise when he dies.

THE BOOK "KĀR.ND.V.KĀ." (KĀRAṆḌAVYŪHA),⁹⁹ VIZ. "KHV.NSHĪ BŪD. S.T." (KUAN-SHI BODHISAT) WHO WAS SENT BY ŚĀKYAMUNI BURKHĀN FROM ALLĀH (TO HELL).¹⁰⁰

In this book it is said that *Śākyamuni-Burkhān*, when he became a prophet, sent the above mentioned to Hell (*ḥajīm*), commanding him to purge it of those who were there. And he purged Hell of its inhabitants. And on his way there each part of the Hell-fire which he touched with his foot, changed into roses and flowers. And when the inhabitants of Hell saw his face, they were all freed from the pains of Hell and entered into Paradise. And the guardians of Hell went to their chief and told him that someone had come to them who had redeemed Hell and who was able to take them to Paradise. When the chief of the guardians of Hell entered Hell and saw *Khv.nshī* he threw himself before him and joyfully obeyed his commands.

⁹⁸ As regards the ritual magic work *Pañcarakshā* ("The five protections"), cf. M. Winternitz, *l.c.*, p. 271; Thomas, *l.c.*, p. 287. Concerning Mongol translations cf. L. Ligeti, *T'oung Pao*, XXVII (1930), pp. 128-132; idem, *Catalogue* . . . , no. 179-183; W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1954), pp. 16-17. The *Pañcarakshā* belongs to those works of which it can be said with certainty that the translation into Mongolian took place at a very early date (1308-11).

⁹⁹ In connection with the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* cf. Winternitz, *l.c.*, pp. 238-240; G. K. Nariman, *Literary history of Sanskrit Buddhism* (Bombay, 1920), pp. 74-77; Thomas, *The history of Buddhist thought*, pp. 190 et seq.; H. Ui and others, *A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canons*, Vol. I (1934), p. 116, no. 27; Heissig, *l.c.*, pp. 24-55.

¹⁰⁰ This part of the title is the probable reconstruction of the original, which was badly mutilated by the copyist in the MS.

THE BOOK “KRĀH.T MĀTRĪ” (GRAHAMĀTRĪ?),¹⁰¹ VIZ. THE SEVEN STARS,¹⁰² WHICH BRING ABOUT GOOD AND EVIL, AND THAT WHICH BEFALLS ONE OF THEM IS ORDAINED BY ALLĀH, THE EXALTED AND SACRED.

It is said that he who recites this book and with lights and candles implores the stars, which he zealously worships, for help, will speedily have his wish fulfilled, whether it concerns a person or a thing, and that future trials and misfortunes will be spared him through the goodness of *Allāh* the Exalted.

THE BOOK “SH N K L” (?),¹⁰³ VIZ. THE CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS, DUES AND GIFTS.

In this book it is said that any man who, making his disposals, cheats the charitable institutions and fails to refund goods entrusted to him will go to Hell after his death.

Here fluid copper and lead will be poured into his mouth until he has turned to ashes. Then *Allāh* by his power will bring him back to life and his chastisement will be repeated. And this process will recur continually throughout all time and through eternity. – We seek with *Allāh* refuge from his wrath! – And no man of pure character and pious nature may make prejudicial speeches concerning the removal of the charitable institutions, dues and gifts destined for the people. For verily, there is deliverance from all Hells and Hell punishments, but from this terrible sin there is neither salvation nor redemption.

THE BOOK WHICH DEALS WITH THE COMMUNITY OF THOSE LIVING ON THE CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS, DUES AND GIFTS.¹⁰⁴

It bessems them to give thanks sincerely and honestly for the benefit bestowed on them by *Allāh*, the Exalted, in permitting them this lawful and pure means of livelihood; (furthermore) to observe the fasts and the

¹⁰¹ The title may well have been analogous to “Grahāmātrkādhāraṇī”. Cf. R. Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal* (Calcutta, 1882), p. 93, and A. Csoma de Körös/L. Feer, “Analyse du Kandjour,” *l.c.*, p. 328.

¹⁰² To all appearances we are dealing here with the *Sutra of the seven stars known as the “Great Bear”*. It was translated round about 1328 from the Chinese into Uyghur and Mongolian. The Tibetan translation dates from the year 1338. Here therefore the Chinese source must be taken for granted. Cf. B. Laufer, “Zur Buddhistischen Litteratur der Uiguren,” in *T’oung Pao*, Série II, Vol. VIII (Leiden, 1907), pp. 392–393; P. Ligeti, *l.c.*, p. 60 n. 1. and idem, “Notes sur le Colophon du ‘Yitikan Sudur in Asiatica,’ pp. 397 et seq; R. Mitra, *l.c.*, p. 93, mentions “mystic mantras for the adoration of the nine planets”.

¹⁰³ It is possible to read here Sangha.

¹⁰⁴ Apparently taken from the Vinaya-vastu, but impossible to locate more precisely.

prayers at the (appointed) times and under the conditions necessary to them – the prayer due to the Charitable and the Benevolent! By this thanksgiving their chastisements are lessened and, even when they have sinned heavily, they obtain His forgiveness and pardon.

THE BOOK ON THE NATURE OF THE MOUNTAIN QĀF AND ITS FOUR DIRECTIONS, BY WHICH ARE MEANT EAST, WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH.

Śākyamuni said that, at the command of *Allāh* the Exalted and by virtue of the testimony of the Angels, he is (omni)scient and miraculous and he rules over all the demons mentioned above, likewise over the four Directions of the Mount *Qāf*, over the sun, the moon and the other stars and over the sky. Verily, I am *Śākyamuni-Burkhān*, *Allāh* has granted me a life of 84,000 years.¹⁰⁵ ‘And know ye, that from the time of *Śākyamuni-Burkhān* up to the present day, 2300 years have passed.’

THE BOOK IN WHICH GOD, THE EXALTED,¹⁰⁶ MAKES KNOWN HIS ATTRIBUTES TO ŚĀKYAMUNI-BURKHĀN.

God, the Exalted, testified about himself that he is never born and never dies, that he has neither stature nor soul, nor scent nor colour. It is impossible for him to be seen by any eye on this Side or on the other Side. No one is able to look upon him without his omnipotence. He is the First and the Last of all things, infinite, without an abode, in need of nothing whereas he is needed by all. Then *Śākyamuni-Burkhān* praised *Allāh*, rendered thanks to him and said: “O Lord, whensoever I acknowledged Thy existence, it was as if I saw Thee, whensoever I denied Thy existence whence have all these creatures appeared? Verily, Thou art their Creator and Protector! Thy commandments are unbounded, Thine is the Worship, Thine is the Word and the Deed, Thou art praised in all time until eternity.”

THE BOOK ON THE HOUSES OF WORSHIP.

Śākyamuni said that the Exalted Creator had commanded temples to be built and images of *Śākyamuni* to be placed in them. At the times of prayer candles should be lit (before the images), perfumes burnt and the people should (come to) pray there. “For verily, I must then appear there. Therefore make gifts to charitable institutions and give alms freely, for I

¹⁰⁵ Viz. eternally.

¹⁰⁶ Here too it seems more likely that the Ādibuddha is meant, and not Amitābha. Cf. note 72.

will receive them all! And it is seemly that only pure gifts should be brought there by those who have severed themselves from their connections (with the world), so that I may appear there, may hear their invocations and grant their prayers. And of each one who prays in these temples I know the extent of his meritorious participation in it. Verily it can neither be calculated nor measured."

THE BOOK "SH N(?)K N(?)Ī" (?),¹⁰⁷ VIZ. THE METEMPSYCHOSIS.

Every man who practises goodness, performs benevolent deeds, makes gifts to charity and gives alms, will be reborn after death as a rich man and will rise to a high rank and a high grade. And every man who utters good and useful words, which find favour with men and with the world, will finally reach the stage of the prophets. And every man who has shown honour and esteem to learned men and who has welcomed with politeness and kind words not only his friends but also his enemies, who remembers good deeds and therefore bears no grudge against men, will be regenerated as Śuṭṭān and as ruling chief.

FRAGMENT

... will be taken to the Third Paradise and each day of this Paradise corresponds to one year of the Second Paradise. In this Third Paradise he will remain for 2,000 years and in this way his life will be doubled, until he reaches the Sixth Paradise. And when he has reached the Seventh Paradise he will live for ever, and birth and death will cease. And after that there will be neither death nor birth for him and he will abide for ever with God's majesty, will praise Him and serve Him. And all that he desires will take place and all his wishes will be fulfilled.

One glance at the list of Books enables us without difficulty to recognize its particular orientation, in spite of many a questionable passage; they express throughout Mahāyānistic views which, in general, are especially characteristic of the doctrine of the *School of the Pure Land*. *Amitābha* or *Amitāyus*, the Buddha of immeasurable light or of immeasurable life, the Lord of *Sukhāvatī*, the Paradise of the West,¹⁰⁸ *Kuan-shi-(yin)*, the Chinese *Avalokiteśvara*, the all-merciful *Bodhisattva*, and *Śākyamuni* the Eternal, endowed with divine attributes – these are all figures and conceptions which are especially characteristic of this variety of *Mahāyāna*

¹⁰⁷ The transcription makes it impossible to read here what one would expect, viz. *Samsāra*. It reminds one most of "Shadgati", six ways or stages of existence, cf. P. Mus, *Lumière sur les six voies de renaissance* (Paris, 1939).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Eitel, *l.c.*, p. 135; Soothill, *l.c.*, p. 357b.

Buddhism which was so widespread in the *Far East*. Another fact which points in the same direction and which is for the rest typical of the whole work, is that nowhere mention is made of *Shaktistic* and *Tantristic* conceptions or details. And finally the date given for *Śākyamuni*: "2300 years before our epoch", provides a ready confirmation of the *Far Eastern* origin of the Book list. Such datings, which place the life of *Śākyamuni* in and before the 10th century B.C., are typical of *Chinese Buddhism*.¹⁰⁹

From the contents of the Book list, however, it is not only possible to draw conclusions as to their countries of origin, but it also includes indications concerning the possible sources of the texts on which the books are founded. In this connection there immediately springs to the mind the *Uyghur-Mongol* designation of *Buddha*: *Burkhān*,¹¹⁰ which occurs in the whole work here for the first and only time. This fact in itself marks already the inventory of Books as a later interpolation, perhaps from another hand, but in any case of an origin differing from that of the main work. But besides that it gives rise to the supposition that the Buddhist books mentioned here were available to the author of the list, at least in part in *Uyghur* and even perhaps in *Mongolian* translation. What could be more obvious than to think of the great translation opus of the *Mongol Kanjur*, particularly in connection with the latter? It is known that *Qubilai* himself (1259–94) was already desirous of having the *Tibetan Kanjur* and *Tanjur* translated into Mongolian, but that work on it was not officially begun until the reign of his grandson *Khaisan Küllüg* (*Wu Tsung*, 1308–11), round about 1310.¹¹¹ This does not exclude the possibility of certain portions having been translated into Mongolian

¹⁰⁹ As regards the dating of the Nirvana by the Chinese Buddhists, cf. E. J. Thomas, *The life of Buddha as legend and history* (London, 1927), p. 27, n. 1., and recently in particular A. Bareau, "La date du Nirvāṇa," in *JA*, CCXLI (1953), pp. 27–63, especially p. 57.

¹¹⁰ The designation *Burkhā*, *Burqan* (as regards its origin cf. A. v. Gabain, "Buddhistische Türkenmission," in *Asiatica*, pp. 165–166), occurs also in Rashīd al-Dīn's "History of China" (cf. H. Franke, "Some sinological remarks on Rašid ad-Dīn's History of China," in *Oriens*, 4 (1951), p. 25); it is thus found everywhere where Rashīd al-Dīn deals with the Far East, the realm of the Great Khans. In the case in point there are mainly two possibilities of explaining its occurrence: 1) it has already been adopted in the scripts of the Chinese Buddhists and of the Mongols who made use of them; in that case we should be dealing here only with a list of Chinese-Buddhist scripts; 2) it was only used where the scripts in question were available in Uyghur or Mongolian translation; in that case the author of the list would have already had such translations, at any rate parts of them, at his disposal, which, seeing the relatively late date at which they were written (1314–15) may quite well have been possible.

¹¹¹ Cf. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, vol. III (Baltimore, 1947), pp. 468–69; L. A. Waddell, *l.c.*, pp. 38 and 158, still accredited *Qubilai* with having commissioned the translation and dated the completion of the work as 1310.

earlier than this. But even without this supposition, which is certainly not ungrounded, the time at which our Book list was composed – 1314-15 at the latest – would enable us to assume that its author had at least parts of the new *Mongolian* translation at his disposal.

Finally, should this tempting assumption prove to be well-founded, then the interesting fact arises that the translations of the *Mongol Kanjur* had already found their way even into *Iran*.

Summarizing, we arrive at the following conclusion: *Kamālashrī*’s actual work, the *Persian version*, reflects *Mahāyāna-Buddhism* in all its colourful provincial differentiation, as shown by the *Mongol Empire* taken as a whole. Here justice is done to the oriental form, yet by no means does it appear exceptionally predominant. In the appended list of Books, the latter is already the case, for it may be considered as essentially a product of *Far Eastern Buddhism*.

Analogous to these assertions will be also the answer to the question put at the beginning as to the nature of the *Buddhism* of *Iran*: the *Buddhism* which was widespread among the *Mongols* of *Iran* until the end of the 13th century will in general have reflected no special or peculiar aspect of the *Mahāyāna*, but, like *Kamālashrī*’s work, will have been of a syncretistic character. During the reign of *Qubilai* – as is shown by our list of Books, despite its having been inserted later – *Far Eastern Buddhism* will have become more and more prominent also in *Iran*. Yet before it succeeded in gaining primacy there, *Ghazan*’s conversion to Islam took place, an event that was accompanied in the political sphere by a considerable relaxing of the supremacy of the eastern *Great Khans*. Officially speaking, this meant the end of *Buddhism* in *Iran* in general, but in particular of its pure *Far Eastern* form. This latter fact is in my opinion also reflected in *Rashīd al-Dīn*’s choice of the *Kashmirian Kamālashrī* and not of a *Bakhshī* of the *Far Eastern* church.

Notwithstanding the unique value which it possesses by reason of its accounts and insight within the framework of Islamic literature, *Kamālashrī*’s description of Buddhism has found no further echo. It is true that it penetrated – although in a much abbreviated form – into the historical work of *Banākatī*¹¹² and also that later it was incorporated unaltered by *Ḥāfiẓ-i Ābrū* in his great historical compilation.¹¹³ But of any real stimulus it may have given or of other effects it may have produced, nothing is known.

¹¹² Cf. C. A. Storey, *l.c.*, pp. 79–80.

¹¹³ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 87.

Having come to the end of my exposition, I cannot do otherwise than declare that I am all too conscious of its defects, particularly in connection with the problems surrounding the numerous assumptions mentioned here. That I have nevertheless decided on publication at this juncture can be justified only by my desire to make this most informative material available to those interested without delay.

I am indebted for many valuable hints and suggestions while working on matter which was new to me to my Dutch colleagues Professor J. Gonda (Utrecht), Dr. J. Ensink (Groningen), Professor J. W. de Jong (Leiden), and Drs. J. C. Heesterman (Utrecht), who has been so kind to read through the proofs with me. I am no less grateful for the ready assistance offered by colleagues in Germany, in particular Professor E. Waldschmidt (Göttingen), Professor H. von Glasenapp (Tübingen) Professor J. Nobel (Marburg), and Dozent Dr. W. Heissig (Göttingen) who drew my attention to many important points in the Mongolistic field.

ON TIBETAN POETRY

by

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Tibetan is a language spoken in Tibet Proper and its adjacent areas. This language, with dialectal variations, extends its territory northward to the southern parts of Ch'ing-hai and Kan-su; eastward to Hsi-k'ang, to the western part of Szu-ch'uan, and to the northwestern part of Yün-nan; westward to Ladakh, Baltistan, and Lahul.¹

The extreme scarcity of available material on "Tibetan poetry" – the existence of which is even doubtful and debatable – has made it almost impossible to treat the present topic satisfactorily. The fact is: poetry in Tibet has never been accepted in the sense we understand it to be. In other words, poetry has never been recognized as an established literary genre in Tibet. Therefore, it is understandable that terms such as "poems" and "poets" are nonexistent in Tibetan language. The closest

¹ Songs from LADAKH: A. H. Francke, 'On Ladakhi Poetry,' *Globus*, LXXV, no. 15 (25 songs collected in Leh, Stock, and Sheh); A. H. Francke, with the aid of the Rev. S. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe, 'Ladakhi Songs,' *Indian Antiquary*, XXXI (1902), pp. 87–106, 304–11 (30 songs, Tibetan text, an English translation). Songs from LADAKH and BALTISTAN: H. Hanlon, 'The Folk Songs of Ladakh and Baltistan,' *Transaction of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists* (London, 1892), pp. 613–35. (148 songs were exhibited at the 9th International Congress of Orientalists at London. Two-thirds were collected from Ladakh, one-third was gathered from Baltistan. Parts of translated songs are presented in this paper.) Songs from LAHUL: Georges de Roerich, 'The Tibetan Dialect of Lahul,' *Tibetica*, I (Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum, New York), pp. 44–68 (7 songs, Tibetan text, transcription, phonetic transcription, English translation). Songs in DARD dialect, an Aryan language which has been deeply influenced by Ladakhi dialect: A. H. Francke, 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bonona Festival,' *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIV (1905), pp. 93–110 (18 songs sung at Da, Garkunu, and the other villages of the eastern Dards [Shina] at Bōno-nā festival celebrated every third year, text and an English translation). Songs from GYANTSE: G. Tucci, *Tibetan Folksongs from the District of Gyantse* (= Supplementum VII to *Artibus Asiae*), 1949 (54 short songs and one long marriage song, Tibetan text, English translation). Songs from EASTERN TIBETAN BORDER: J. H. Edgar, 'Verse of the Tibetan Border,' *Journal of the Western China Border Research Society*, VIII (1936), pp. 9–13 (4 songs in English translation).

approximation to the word "poems" is *glu bzhas* (honorific *gsungs bzhas*) which means "songs".² *Glu bzhas* are mainly folksongs, popularly known and sung by all common people. They are lively, colorful, and often naive in their simplicity and frankness. It is these popular songs that constitute one of the two main bodies of "Tibetan poetry". The other main body of the "Tibetan poetry" is found in various religious writings such as prayers, hymns, or ceremonious songs. These are expressions of scholars and learned priests. They are generally called *dbyangs* or *mgur*, and are essentially poetic as well as intensely religious in nature. Apart from these two main categories of "Tibetan poetry", there are some minor groups, such as the poetic passages contained in popular plays which are usually historical and religious in themes. It is these different types of poetic writings that comprised the "Tibetan poetry" we recognize today. And it is these that I shall now discuss in the following paragraphs.

Parallelism has been observed by Francke in his 'Ladakhi Songs' (*Indian Antiquary*, XXXI, p. 87). For examples ('Ladakhi Songs', no. 4):

na chung brgya bai yog khor la brdzes
khyog thong brgya bai skyed khor la brdzes
Fasten it to the *yog khor* of hundred (poor) girls,
Fasten it to the girdle of hundred (poor) youths.

(*Yog khor*, lower wrappings, name of the sheep skin, which is worn over the shoulders, formerly it may have been wrapped round the waist).

kun la brdzes pai kun brdzes shig yin
yang la brdzes pai yang brdzes shig yin
It is a general ornament to be used by many,
It is a most general ornament to be used by many more.

There is no distinction of long and short syllables in Tibetan versification. The significance of the distinction between accented and unaccented syllables is doubtful.³ The rhyming system is not universal among all types of poetry.⁴ Structurally speaking, all poetic pieces differ from one

² Tucci, *Folksongs* (pp. 9-10), has discussed the proper way of writing for the colloquial form *lushé*.

³ Tucci says (*Folksongs*, p. 11) that the popular songs can be considered as being composed of three (or four) bisyllabic metres, with the accent on the second syllable. Francke has also mentioned in his introduction to the *Ladakhi Songs* that in the "court songs" each line consists of three trochees, and in the "dance songs" only the accented syllables are counted, the number of unaccented syllables between them varies from one to three.

⁴ In repartee songs, which generally consist of verses of two lines of six syllables each, there is rhyme (Das, *Grammar*, p. 60).

another only in the number of syllables. In the development of the Tibetan poetry there are two different traditions: Tibetan native literary creations and Indic Buddhistic translations. In general, the secular poetry always contains an even number of syllables in each line; while the religious treatises usually contain an odd number of syllables. The former has a greater variety in form, whereas the latter are more regular in form. Most of the songs sung by the Tibetans in their daily life and during their dances consist of four lines with six (or less frequently eight) syllables each. This type of song is called *gtang thung bzhas*.

Specimen (Tucci, Nos. 33 and 53):

Sprin bzang 'ja sprin shig zhig
 mang po'i mig la gzugs song
 de la gos chen tam ka'i (cf. Hindī ṭamkānā, to stitch)
 dpung rgyan brgyan 'phros lus song

The beautiful cloud, the wavering cloud which the rays of
 the rainbow tinge,
 is the object of sight for the eyes of many people.
 There, as regards the ornament on the shoulders of the
 embroidered silk gown,
 the decoration is left unfinished.

spang stod yar la gzigs dang
 lha bya'i skyo glu gzhes gi
 go ba can gyis gzigs dang
 a ma med pa min nam

Look up to the higher part of the meadow;
 a divine bird there sings a weary song.
 If you understand it, look at him!
 Is he not an orphaline?

Some songs are sung individually, some are sung collectively. *Gral glu* (row songs) are sung only in New Year festival or in marriage ceremonies, the singers are standing in rows. *Sgor bzhas* (circle songs) are sung by men and women who grasp each other's hands and stand in a circle walking now to the right and now to the left. Lullaby songs are sung by people standing in long lines, one person behind another; each one places his hands over the shoulder of the person immediately in front, and they rock to-and-fro as in a lullaby.⁵

The following is a tentative classification of Tibetan poetic pieces:
 1. Folksongs, 2. Ritualistic songs, 3. Poetic passages in plays, 4. *Gling glu*,

⁵ Hanlon, No. 111 (the A-lo-lo-tse or lullaby motion dance song, sung at weddings).

5. Poetic passages in the Kesar saga, 6. Poetic passages in historical works, 7. Historical songs, 8. Poetic or partially poetic religious works, 9. Religious songs, prayers, and hymns, 10. Milaraspa's *Mgur 'Bum*.⁶

FOLKSONGS: Folksongs are anonymous. Usually they are circulated only within a small region. When they meet the approval of the people, they may spread all over a larger area, flourishing and travelling with pilgrims or caravans. Many of them seem to have rather a short life. There are many varieties of the folksongs. Some are peculiar to a special kind of work, and therefore almost exclusively sung by those who are engaged in that kind of work; for instance, songs for manuring the fields, for sowing, for harvesting, for winnowing, for parching corns, for making bricks, for building a house, for making roof of a house, for loading beasts of burden, for shaving sheep, for washing wool, for fording a boat, etc. Some songs are limited among herdsmen. Some are sung by beggars only.⁷

Special mention should be made of the love songs attributed to the 6th Dalai Lama. This group of songs has been twice edited, but these two editions are not exactly identical; we have a total of 266 lines divided into 66 songs. They are simple, fresh, and artless, imbued with great feeling for nature. They reveal the struggle between passion and propriety, from which there is no respite. These songs are mainly composed of four lines, six syllables each.⁸

Specimen (Yü, Nos. 1, 9, 36, 44):

shar phyogs ri bo'i rste nas	From the mountain peaks in the east,
dkar gsal zla ba shar byung	The silvery moon has peeped out.
ma skyes a ma'i zhal ras	And the face of that young maiden,
yid la 'khor 'khor byas byung	Has gradually appeared in my mind.
ngang pa 'dam la chags nas	A goose having become attached to the reed,
re zhis sdod* dgos bsams kyang	And wanted to stay a little while;
mtsho mo dar kha bsgrigs nas	But the lake froze all over,
rang sems kho thag chod song	Then he became quite disappointed.

* Das, sdad.

⁶ Discussions on classification: Francke, 'Ladakhi Songs'; Hanlon, *Transaction*; Yü and Chao, *Love Songs*; Tucci, *Folksongs*, etc.

⁷ Hanlon, No. 122 (a beggar's song at the door of his benefactor).

⁸ S. C. Das, *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, Appendix IX, 'The Love Songs of the 6th Dalai Lama' (242 lines divided into 60 songs, Tibetan text); T. C. Yü and Y. R. Chao, *Love Songs of the 6th Dalai Lama Tshang dbyangs rgya mtsho* (= Monographs, Series A, no. 5, of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1930, Peiping) (266 lines divided into 66 songs, Tibetan text, transcription, phonetic transcription, literal and free translations in both Chinese and English).

brag dang lung po sdebs nas	Anger and ill humour combined,
rgod* po'i sgro**la zan byung	Have made the feathers of the
	vulture dishevelled
g-yo can rdzu bag can gyis	Intrigues and worldly cares,
nga la zan po*** byas byung	Have completely worn me out.

* Das, rgas, "old, aged". ** Das, sgro, Yü, dgro. *** Das, po, Yü pos.

khu chug mun* nas yongs pa'i	When the cuckoo comes from the country
	Mon,
nam la'i** sa bcud phebs song	Then the seasonable essence of the soil also
	comes,
nga dang byams pa phrad nas	Since I have met my lover,
lus sems lhod por lang song	My body and mind have become relaxed.

* Das, mon. ** Das, gnam lo'i.

In writing love letters Tibetans compose thirty lines and use the thirty Tibetan letters, in a proper sequence, as the initial of the first word of each line. This type of songs is called *ka bzhas*.⁹

Some songs carry on social functions. For instance, *ch'ang glu* are the poems composed ex tempore by officials or the gentry during or after a banquet or a drinking party. This type of songs belongs to a more literary type.¹⁰ In this type of songs, in their written forms, the distinction of number in the syllables of a line is not strictly observed. But in actual singing additional meaningless syllables (*tshig lhad*) are employed in order to balance the length of the verses.¹¹

RITUALISTIC SONGS: Songs for marriage or funeral services are of ritualistic nature. Marriage songs are sung partly by the party of the bride, partly by that of the bridegroom, partly by both, and occasionally by go-betweens. One verse contains many questions, the next furnishes answers. Tibetan marriage rituals differ greatly from one locality to another. Francke (from *Phyang*) and Tucci (from *Myang chu*) have collected this type of songs.¹²

When farmers have finished their harvest and celebrate their good

⁹ Francke, 'Ladakhi Songs,' no. 9, A.B.C. song.

¹⁰ Hanlon, No. 100 (customary song before pouring out *chang*), No. 101 (answer sung by men to whom *chang* is offered), No. 102 (customary song of the person drawing the *chang*; description of how *chang* is made well), No. 103–8 (parleying over *chang*).

¹¹ S. C. Das, *Grammar*, Appendix X, 'The Song of the Precious Reed' (Tibetan text) (this is also printed in *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, VII, pt. 1, pp. 4-5); J. van Manen, 'Three Tibetan Repartee Songs,' *JASB*, n.s. XVII (1921), no. 4, pp. 287-318.

¹² A. H. Francke, 'The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual,' *Indian Antiquary*, XXX (1901), pp. 131–49 (reprinted in *A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga* [Calcutta, 1905–41], pp. 453–81) (9 songs, Tibetan text, an English translation); A. H. Francke, *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder* (= *Kulturen der Erde, Textwerke*) (Hagen, 1923) (German translation, pp. 33–69, of 19 songs; and some others from Khalatse);

crops, they sing *bzhas chen* (great songs) during their celebration feast. There are other types of songs for other festivals.¹³

PLAYS: Poetic passages constitute the main body of the plays performed during the winter season by touring troupes. These poetic passages are sung by various actors with additional dancing and music. Denison Ross has edited the Tibetan text of *Dri med kun ldan* where the verses have either seven, nine, or eleven syllables.¹⁴

GLING GLU: *Gling glu* are sung at the time of the Spring or Kesar Festival. They praise Kesar and other non-Buddhist deities. Francke has collected two sets, nine songs in each, in Ladak from Khalatse and *Phyang* respectively.¹⁵

KESAR SAGA: The Tibetan versions of the widely circulated Kesar saga are written in verses which intermingle with prose. Francke has edited two Ladakhi versions of this saga (Leh and Lower Ladak).¹⁶

HISTORICAL WORKS: Some historical works composed by native Tibetans also contain large portions of verses. For instance, in the section on Tibetan queens of the *Bka Thang Sde Lnga* edited by Laufer, verses are mainly in nine syllables.¹⁷

H. Hanlon, 'The Wedding Customs and Songs of Ladak,' *Actes du 10e Congrès des Orientalistes* (Geneva, 1894), Section V, pp. 183-4 (discussion only); Tucci, *Folksongs*, pp. 33-40 (Tibetan text), 67-83 (English translation). - Hanlon, No. 76 (a very old wedding song), No. 77 (marriage song, No. II), No. 91 (answer of the bride), No. 99 (the customary song of offerings and meats, etc., sung when a large crowd has assembled at the marriage), No. 97 (sung at wedding when presenting arrow encircled with scarf of blessing), No. 98 (sung when putting on the bonnet and other head-dress of bride). - Hanlon, No. 12 (Pangri *glu*, or song for name-feast when a child is one month old). - Davasamdup, 'A Tibetan Funeral Prayer,' *JASB*, n.s. XII (1916), pp. 147-59.

¹³ Francke, 'Ladakhi Songs,' No. 15, Harvest Festival at Skyurbuchan (sung by two parties).

¹⁴ E. Denison Ross, *Tibetan Version of Dri Med Kun Ldan* (Calcutta, 1912); M. H. Morrison, *Dri Med Kun Ldan* (London, 1925) (an English translation of Ross' text); J. Bacot, *Trois Mystères Tibétains* (Paris, 1921) (a French translation of Bacot's Tibetan text); H. I. Woolf, *Three Tibetan Mysteries* (London, 1924) (an English translation of Bacot's French work).

¹⁵ A. H. Francke, 'A Ladakhi Bonpo Hymnal,' *Indian Antiquary*, XXX (1901), pp. 359-64 (reprinted in *A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga* [1905-1941], pp. 429-39) (*Gling glu* from *Phyang*, Tibetan text, an English translation); A. H. Francke, 'Ladakhi Songs, Leh,' *Indian Antiquary*, XXXI (1902), pp. 304-11 (reprinted in *A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga* [Calcutta, 1905-41], pp. 440-52, Songs nos. 21-30) (*Gling glu* from Khalatse, Tibetan text, an English translation).

¹⁶ A. H. Francke, *The Leh Version of the Kesar Saga* (= *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* [Helsingfors, 1900]); A. H. Francke, *A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga* (Calcutta, 1905-41) (Tibetan text and abstracts of contents).

¹⁷ B. Laufer, *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin* (Leipzig, 1911) (22 chapters on Tibetan queens, Tibetan text and a German translation); G. C. Toussaint, *Le Dict de Padma* (Paris, 1933) (A French translation of *Padma Thang Yig*, Lithang MS., in verses).

HISTORICAL SONGS: Francke also gathered ancient historical songs from Ladak. They praise either kings or ministers, and some of them narrate famous historical events.¹⁸

RELIGIOUS WORKS: The several poetical works in the Kanjur and the Tanjur, all of which are faithful translations from the Sanskrit Buddhist works of India, are in verses, consisting two or four lines, each of seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, nineteen, or twenty-one syllables. The Avadāna Kalpalatā contains numerous examples of such poetical compositions.¹⁹

The Bonpo works, like Laufer's edition of *Klu 'Bum* and Francke's edition of *Gzer Myig*, also contain verses regularly in odd number of syllables.²⁰

Many Tibetan native compositions on religion are composed on the model of the Buddhistic translations. Such as the Subhāṣita Ratna Nidhi by Saskya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) consists of 454 ślokas. Each śloka has four lines, seven syllables each.²¹

RELIGIOUS SONGS: The Song of the Eastern Snow-Mountain is religious in nature. It is divided into six parts: a part sung by his teachers, a part by the writer himself, a part by his contemporaries, a part by his pupils, final prayer, and final blessing. Verses mainly have eight syllables.²²

MILARASPA: Milaraspa (1040–1123), of the *Bka rgyud pa* sect, is above all a poet. The chief work ascribed to him is the "One Hundred Thousand Songs (*Mgur 'Bum*)", comprising a narrative of a portion of his

¹⁸ A. H. Francke, 'The Ancient Historical Songs from Western Tibet,' *Indian Antiquary*, XXXVIII (1909), pp. 57–68 (10 songs, Tibetan text, an English translation). Hanlon, *A song to king and queen*, No. 10 (Baltistani song sung before Rajah's Palace), No. 128 (in praise of a Mohametan chief, song of Baltistan), No. 124 (Baltistani song of conquest), No. 138 (Ladakhi song of the conquest of Rudok).

¹⁹ S. C. Das, *Avadāna Kalpalatā* (Tib. Rtogs Brjod Dpag Bsam 'Khri Shing), 2 volumes, in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* (Calcutta, 1888–1918), 1890–1913 (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts).

²⁰ B. Laufer, *Klu 'Bum Bsdus Pa'i Snying Po* (= *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, no. 11, 1898) (Tibetan text with a German translation). – A. H. Francke (and H. Hoffmann), 'Gzer Myig,' *Asia Major*, 1924, pp. 243–346; 1926, pp. 321–339; 1927, pp. 161–239, 481–540; 1930, pp. 1–10, 299–314; 1949, pp. 163–188 (Tibetan text with an English translation).

²¹ A. Csoma de Körös, 'A Brief Notice of the Subhāṣita Ratna Nidhi of Saskya Paṇḍita, with extracts and translations,' *JASB*, XXIV (1855), pp. 141 ff; XXV (1856), pp. 257 ff. (reprinted in *JPASB*, VII, Extra Number [1911], A. Csoma de Körös Memorial Volume, pp. 93–172) (234 ślokas in nine sections, Tibetan text and English translation).

²² J. van Manen, *Minor Tibetan Texts* (Calcutta, 1919) (14 songs in six sections, with introduction, variants, translations, glossary and notes, and additional notes).

wandering, plentifully interspersed with his ditties and poetical expositions of doctrine; these, however, number less than 200, instead of 100,000 as stated in the metaphorical title. His poetry is frequently eclipsed by esoterical abstruseness or by the technicalities of yoga, but on the other hand it does sometimes break loose from such patterns and soars in perfect purity on the wings of fancy. His poetry is inspired by India. There is a personal touch in his verses which we rarely find in Tibetan literature. The versification in his work is very different from that usually found in the works of the Kanjur and the Tanjur where all lines of a stanza contain the same number of syllables. In most passages there are verses in seven syllables interspersed with those in eight syllables. Laufer has ventured a scheme for the versification of Milaraspa's work (*Denkschriften*, p. 7): '— ∨ ∨ — ∨ — ∨ —, — ∨ — ∨ ∨ — ∨ —, implying that in an unaccented position the number of syllables does not make any difference. The content of Milaraspa's song-book has been analyzed chapter by chapter by Toni Schmid (*Report*, pp. 115–123).²³

²³ J. Bacot, 'La Conversion du chasseur,' *Mélanges Linossier*, 1931–3, Paris (a French translation of the chapter on *Khyi ra ba mgon po rdo rje*); S. C. Das, 'Dispute between a Buddhist and a Bonpo priest for the Possession of Mount Kailāsa and the Lake Mānasa,' *JASB*, L (1881), no. 3, pp. 206–11 (an English translation of the chapter on the dispute between Milaraspa and the Bonpo priest Nāro); A. Grünwedel, *Die Tempel von Lhasa* (= *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie, phil. hist. Kl.*, 1919, 14. Abhandlung [Heidelberg, 1919]), pp. 83–91 (Tibetan text with a German translation of the chapter on Yaks' horns); H. Hoffmann, *Milaraspa, sieben Legenden* (München, 1950) (a German translation of seven chapters: The Winter on *La phyi*, Milaraspa in *Rag ma*, *Phu gro lha'i bu mo* and *Mi ma yin* on *Brag skya rdo rje rdzong*, dispute between Milaraspa and the Bonpo priest Nāro, Milaraspa's meeting with *Shen sgom ras pa* and *Rdzi bo ras pa*, Milaraspa's meeting with *Khyi ra ras pa mgon po rdo rje*, the king's gifts); H. Hoffmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion* (= *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, 1950, nr. 4), pp. 267–92 (a German translation) and 361–396 (Tibetan text) of the two chapters dealing with Bon religion; dispute between Milaraspa and the Bon priest Nāro, Milaraspa's meeting with *Shen sgom ras pa* and *Rdzi bo ras pa*; A. H. Jäschke, 'Probe aus dem tibetischen Legendenbuche: die hundert tausend Gesänge des Milaraspa,' *ZDMG*, XXIII (1869), pp. 542–58 (Tibetan text reproduced on a plate and a German translation with extensive notes of a small portion of the chapter about *Rag ma*); B. Laufer, 'Zwei Legenden des Milaraspa,' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 4 (1901), pp. 1–44 (Tibetan text and a German translation of the first two chapters: the woodgatherer Milaraspa, the journey to *La phyi*); B. Laufer, *Aus den Geschichten und Liedern des Milaraspa* (= *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, phil. hist. Kl.*, XLVIII [1902], Abhandlung 2), pp. 1–62 (Tibetan text and a German translation of five chapters: the winter on *La phyi*, the rock-demon of *Ling ba*, Milaraspa in *Rag ma*, Milaraspa on *Rkyang kha nam kha rdzong*, Milaraspa's meeting with Dharmabodhi); B. Laufer, *Milaraspa, tibetische Texte in Auswahl* (= *Kulturen der Erde, Textwerke*) (Hagen, 1922) (a German translation of the seven chapters mentioned in the previous two works); H. Meyer, 'Chant sixième des 100,000 chants de Milaraspa,' *Poésie*, 43, no. 14, pp. 42–8 (a French translation of the chapter –

Milaraspa's Song Book (Laufer, *Denkschriften*, pp. 53–4):

- 1 bla ma'i dam pa'i zhabs la 'dud
gnas mi med dben pa'i nags 'dabs na
mi la ras pa'i sgom lugs bde
'dzin chags med pa'i 'gro 'dug bde
- 5 na tsha med pa'i sgyu lus bde
nyal ba med pa'i 'dug lugs bde
rtog pa med pa'i ting 'dzin bde
grang ba med pa'i gtum mo bde
zhum pa med pa'i brtul zhugs bde
- 10 rtsol ba med pa'i so nam bde
g-yeng ba med pa'i dben gnas bde
de tsho lus lyi 'khyer so yin
thabs shes gnyis kyi theg pa bde
skyed rdzogs zung 'jug nyams len bde
- 15 rlung 'gro 'ong med pa'i dran pa bde
lab grogs med pa'i smra bcad bde
de tsho ngag gi 'khyer so yin
ngos bzung med pa'i blta ba bde
rgyun chad med pa'i sgom pa bde
- 20 nyams pa (Laufer, nyam nga) med pa'i spyod pa bde
re dogs med pa'i 'bras bu bde
de tsho sems kyi 'khyer so yin
'gyur med rtog med 'od gsal bde
bde chen rnam dag dbyings su bde
- 25 'gag med 'char sgo'i klong du bde
shin tu bde ba'i dbyangs chung 'di
nyams myong glu ru blangs pa yin
blta spyod zung du sbrel ba yin
slang nas byang chub bsgrub pa rnams
- 30 nyams su len na de ltar mdzod

Milaraspa on *Rkyang kha nam kha rdzong*); H. Meyer, 'Le Chant des hémiones,' *Mesures*, IV (1938), 15/10, pp. 145–69 (a French translation of the chapter about wild horses); H. Meyer, 'Mila, le ramasseur de bois,' *La Table Ronde*, s.d., pp. 165–83 (a French translation of the first chapter – Milaraspa, the woodgatherer); W. W. Rockhill, 'The Tibetan 'Hundred Thousand Songs' of Milaraspa, a Buddhist Missionary of the 11th Century,' *AOS, Proceedings*, October, 1884, ccvii–ccxi (an English translation of the chapter six and part of chapter five); G. Sandberg, *Tibet and Tibetans* (London, 1906), pp. 250 ff. (an English translation of parts of the chapters: Milaraspa's meeting with the young lady *Dpal dar 'bum* in *Gtsung gi gad leg sum*, Milaraspa's meeting with *Zhi ba 'od ras pa* in *Chu mig dngul 'bum*, dispute between Milaraspa and the Bon priest Nāro, the king's gifts); Toni Schmid, *The Cotton-clad Mila* (= *Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the N. W. Provinces of China, The Sino-Swedish Expedition Publication 36: VIII, Ethnography*, 5 [Stockholm, 1952]) (Nineteen Thangkas are reproduced on plates with extensive notes and an index).

Rockhill's English translation and Laufer's German translation:

- 1 I bow at the feet of the blessed guru.
 (Zu den Füßen des heiligen Lama verneige ich mich.)
 In solitary, secluded places, in woodland depths,
 (Im unbewohnten einsamen Walde)
 Milaraspa's meditative habits bring joys.
 (Ist Milaraspa's Beschauungsart segensreich.)
 Happy is he, dwelling free from greed,
 (Glücklich ist, wer da wandelt frei von der Leidenschaft zu besitzen,)
- 5 Happy, with body free from burning pain,
 (Glücklich, wessen Leib frei ist von brennendem Schmerz.)
 Happy is he, not given to the sluggard's ways;
 (Glücklich, wessen Wesen der Trägheit bar ist.)
 Happy, deep in thought abstracted from all.
 (Glücklich, wer einfachen Herzens Beschauung übt.)
 Happy is he, with that warmth which knows no cold,
 (Glücklich, wer, ohne kalt zu sein, die innere Glut besitzt.)
 Happy, his penance performed with heart not faint. —
 (Glücklich, wer ohne Furcht Bussübungen vollzieht.)
- 10 Happy is he, a husbandman seeking for naught,
 (Glücklich der Landwirt, der nach nichts trachtet.)
 Happy, with resting-place, solitary, undisturbed.
 (Glücklich, wer die ungestörte Einsamkeit wählt:)
 All these are the joys of the body (of a yogin).
 (Das alles sind Vorzüge des Leibes.)
 Happy is he, carried along by both art and sciences,
 (Glücklich, wer das Fahrzeug der Materie und des Geistes hat,)
 Happy, having obtained *skyed-rjogs* and *zung-'jug*.
 (Wer die Meditationsstufen des *Skyed-rdzogs* und *Zung-'jug* erreicht hat,)
- 15 Happy is he, conscious of exhaled and not coming breath,
 (Glücklich, wer sich bewusst ist, dass zwischen Ausströmen und Einatmen
 der Luft kein Unterschied besteht.)
 Happy is silence, free from gossiping friends.
 (Glücklich, wer, ohne Freunde, zu reden nicht gebunden ist:)
 All these are the joys of (his) speech.
 (Das alles sind Vorzüge der Wortes.)
 Happy is he, free from selfish views,
 (Glücklich, wessen Anschauungen frei von Selbstsucht sind,)
 Happy, deep in uninterrupted meditation.
 (Glücklich, wer sich beständig ununterbrochener Betrachtung weihet.)
- 20 Happy, the goal neither longed for nor feared;
 (Glücklich, wessen Wandel frei von Furcht ist.)
- 21 (Glücklich, wer die Belohnung der Hoffnungs- und Furchtlosigkeit
 gewonnen:)
 All these are the joys of (his) mind.
 (Das alles sind Vorzüge des Sinnes.)

Happy is he, with enlightening, fixed, inscrutable,
(Glücklich, wer unwandelbar, einfachen Herzens und erleuchtet ist.)

Happy all his life amid these mighty joys.

(Glücklich, wer in der reinen Sphäre des höchsten Segens weilt.)

Great the joy of mind bound by no fetters. —

(Glücklich, wer in der Tiefe schrankenloser Gedanken weilt.)

- 26 This is the burden of the song of his mighty joys.

(Diesen sehr segensreichen kleinen Sang,)

I sing the song of what I feel,

(Dies Lied der Wonne habe ich gesungen.)

It all is granted for practising the truth,

(Beschauung und Übung sind eng miteinander verbunden.)

It is the groundwork of enlightenment to come;

(Die ihr durch eure Bitten nach der Bodhi strebt,)

- 30 Learn ye then to live this (life).

(Nehmt es euch zu Herzen und handelt so!)

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL IDENTIFICATION OF PEKING WITH YAMĀNTAKA

by

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The idea that the topography of a temple, a town, a country, or the world mysteriously corresponds to the "anatomy" of a divine being is known from various areas and ages. Certain anthropoid features of physical geography, such as contours of mountains, water-currents, seashores, et cetera, will have given rise to such speculations. Without discussing the theories about the origin of this peculiar concept in detail, I want to describe briefly how this belief lived as an oral tradition in Peking even after the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty.

The god whose image was supposed to be reflected in the city plan of Peking was one of the most formidable, if not the most formidable, creations of Tantric imagination, Yamāntaka, "He Who Has Put and End to Yama (Death)", usually referred to as *Çrī-mahā-bhairava* (T. *Dpal rdo rje h̄jigs byed*, M. *Zig-zid* [*Dzigdzid*], "Glorious Vajra-Terrible One"). His rectangular bull's face with its eleven heads; his threatening horns; his square, thick set, blue-black body, from which thirty-four outstretched arms and sixteen trampling feet radiate as so many streets and lanes; all created an illusion powerful enough to stimulate an imagination which was only too eager to identify the visions of lamas with tangible reality. Here are some of the results of their play of thought:

A threefold mandala of Yamāntaka was read into the rectangular plan of the city, the so-called Forbidden City being the first, the Imperial City the second, and the Outer "Chinese" City the third mandala.

The famous statue of Yamāntaka in the Pei-hai area, representing Yamāntaka ekavīra (T. *Dpal rdo rje h̄jigs byed gcig pa*), i.e., Yamāntaka without spouse, was supposed to be the Lord (T. *gtso bo*, M. *ezen*) of the first mandala. The magnificent audience hall, T'ai-ho-tien, was regarded as the center of a mandala, of which Yamāntaka, surrounded by twelve deities (S. *trayo-daça-deva*, T. *lha bcu gsum gyi dkyil h̄khor* [mentioned in

Yung-ho-kung, I, p. 110, B22]), is the ruler. The four pavilions at the corners of the T'ai-ho-tien are explained as four emblematic parasols, and the whole building is regarded as Yamāntaka's palace (S. *vimāna*, T. *gzhal yas khang* "incomparable house", M. *ordu xarsi*). Its three front gates and the rear gate correspond in number, but not in location, to the four gates described in the texts where they are oriented according to the four cardinal points. The central rectangle of the coffered ceiling is raised — an architectural device somewhat analogous to our "doming" (which is unknown in the Far East). This part, which is above the throne, is called *rgyud bzhugs paḥi khang ba*, "the House in which the Tantras (i.e. the holy scriptures taught by or dealing with Yamāntaka) reside".

If one disregards the columns which support the heavy roof except for those four which mark the corners of the place occupied by the throne, then the coffers in the ceiling constitute a regular square, divided into nine small squares. This well-known figure, called *reḥu mig* in Tibetan, has various functions in Lamaist symbolism (see Waddell, L. A., *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*). It is in the central square that Yamāntaka is supposed to reside. Under the steps leading to the dais on which the throne stands a crossed thunderbolt (S. *viṣva-vajra*, T. *sna tshogs rdo rje*) is said to be buried, with its ends directed toward the four cardinal points. This belief, which probably has no factual basis, reminds us of interesting analogies.

I refrain from reporting the mass of contradictory statements about further correspondences between the body of Yamāntaka and individual quarters of the capital. I suppose that in one of the collected works of lamas of the eighteenth century material may be found which deals with this interesting problem, for this belief places Peking really under the protection of Yamāntaka, making its preservation an act of self-defense for him, as it were.

When the idea herein discussed originated I do not know. It is probable that it came up during the time when Emperor Ch'ien-lung, under the influence of powerful clerical dignitaries, experimented with Lamaism in an attempt to reconcile Tibetan Tantrism with Chinese Buddhism or at least to work out some sort of *rapprochement*.

DIE TANGUTEN UND IHRE GESCHICHTE BIS ZUR GRÜNDUNG VON SI-HIA¹

von

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Die Geschichte der alten Tanguten erstreckt sich – soweit wir sie in den chinesischen Quellen mit Sicherheit verfolgen können – über achthundert Jahre: vom Beginn des 5. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts bis in das 13. Jahrhundert, genauer: bis zum Jahre 1227, als Činggis Qan nach langwierigen Kämpfen ihrem grossen Staatswesen im Nordwesten Chinas ein blutiges Ende bereitere – dem Reiche Ta-Hia, oder, wie wir es nach chinesischem Sprachgebrauch zum Unterschiede von älteren Hia-Reichen nennen, dem Westlichen Hia, Si-Hia. In der Gründung dieses Reiches und seiner Schlüsselstellung vor den Toren Chinas nach Zentralasien durch mehr als zwei Jahrhunderte liegt die besondere Bedeutung der Tanguten für die Geschichte Chinas und Innerasiens – unbeschadet der Vorbehalte, die wir etwa in den Fragen der ethnischen Herkunft ihrer Führungsschicht und der Rolle der anderen Volksstämme im Si-Hia-Reich werden stellen müssen.

Mit der Vernichtung ihres Reiches verschwinden auch die alten Tanguten aus der Geschichte. Wohl finden wir die Bezeichnung *Tanguten* auch weiterhin – in der chinesischen Geschichtsschreibung ebenso wie in den zeitgenössischen Berichten der Mongolen, der Araber, Perser und der Europäer – aber ihr Inhalt ist von nun an deutlich verändert! Schon die

¹ Diesem Bericht, der am XIII. Deutschen Orientalistentag in Hamburg Ende Juli 1955 vorgetragen wurde, liegen meine Untersuchungen zugrunde, welche unter dem Titel *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Tanguten von ihrem ersten Auftreten bis zur Gründung von Si-Hia* als ein Band der *Göttinger Asiatischen Forschungen* bei Otto Harrassowitz in Wiesbaden erscheinen werden. So seien hier nur die wichtigsten Belege und Hinweise gegeben; für alle weiteren Fragen sei auf diese Quellensammlung verwiesen.

Mongolen meinten, wenn sie von *Tangγud* sprachen, anscheinend vor Anfang an die Angehörigen des Reiches Si-Hia; das schliesst also doch neben den alten Tanguten ebenso auch die Tibeter, die türkischen Völkerschaften und die Chinesen ein. Damit wurde der Unterschied zwischen dem Volksstamm der Tanguten und dem politischen Gebilde Si-Hia, der noch den Chinesen der Sung-Zeit, den Historikern ebenso wie den Politikern, mehr oder weniger selbstverständlich war, endgültig verwischt. Bei den Mongolen selbst findet man *Tangut* von der Ming-Zeit an als Name einer mongolischen Stammesgruppe. Und auch in der chinesischen Geschichtsschreibung erscheint nun dieser mongolische Begriff *Tangγud*, durch veränderte Rechtschreibung phonetisch und semantisch angeglichen. Er bezeichnet bald Tibeter allgemein – zeitweise scheint er sogar auf die Uiguren bezogen zu werden –, und zur Mandschu-Zeit finden wir überall die Gleichung: *Tangut* gleich *Tibet* gleich *Si-tsang*; in diesem selben weiten Sinn haben dann auch die Europäer von Klaproth bis Kozlov die Bezeichnung *Tanguten* gebraucht.

Wenn heute unter Tanguten im allgemeinen nur die Bewohner des nordöstlichen Teiles von Si-tsang verstanden werden, der Name also wieder in das Stammland der alten Tanguten am Kukunor zurückgekehrt ist, so kann doch die heutige sehr gemischte Bevölkerung bestenfalls nur noch als Traditionsträger jener alten Tanguten gelten.

Bedeutsamer ist demgegenüber die Frage nach den sprachlichen Beziehungen zwischen Si-Hia und den heutigen Minya (Miñag) im westlichen Szechuan am Yalung – ein Gebiet, das im 5. Jahrhundert den äussersten Süden des Wohngebietes von Stämmen der den alten Tanguten verwandten K'iang- und Ti-Völker dargestellt hat und später vermutlich oft auch ihr Rückzugsgebiet gewesen ist – und dazu überhaupt die besondere Frage der historischen Verbindung der Miñag zu Si-Hia oder besser: zu den alten Tanguten, die ja schon im 7. Jahrhundert bezeugt wird.²

Ebenso wie bei den anderen nomadischen Völkernamen zeigt auch die Geschichte der alten Tanguten in einzelnen Vorgängen immer wieder deutlich das Primat ihrer eigenen überlieferten Grundanschauung vom Herrscherstamm und Kerngebiet, wo das Prinzip der politischen Führung

² Nach den Arbeiten von Wang Jinq-ru, "The Shishiah and the Ch'iang and Minia Languages in Szuch'uan Province," *Tangut Studies*, II, 275–288 (1933), von Stuart N. Wolfenden, "Notes on the Jyarung Dialect of Eastern Tibet," *TP*, 32, 167–204 (1936), und von Wen Yu in *Studia Serica*, 9/2, 17–54, 105–107 u.a. haben jetzt besonders die scharfsinnigen Untersuchungen von Rolf Stein, "Miñag et Si-hia," *BEFEO*, 44, 223–265 (1951), diese Fragen einer Klärung näher gebracht.

eines Stammes, einer Sippe, alle Verschiedenheiten etwa der Rasse, der Nationalität und der Sprache überdeckt.

Und auch für die Chinesen ist das ethnische Element, so ausführlich sie es auch oft beschreiben, doch immer nur ein Teilaspekt des fremden Stammesverbandes, der ihnen als ein latenter machtpolitischer Faktor entgegentritt.

So haben wir denn auch die zeitgenössischen chinesischen Berichte über die Tanguten, die uns – wenn auch in spürbar fragmentarischer Form – in den grossen Dynastie-Geschichten überliefert geblieben sind,³ zunächst in diesem Sinne zu interpretieren.

Der Beginn der Geschichte der Tanguten ist im frühen 5. Jahrhundert anzusetzen, wo ihr Name in den Formen Tang-ch'ang und Teng-chi zuerst unverkennbar erscheint, und zwar zugleich als Träger einer gewissen politischen Einheit, so relativ auch diese *de facto* zunächst gewesen sein mag.

Es ist die Zeit, da im Nordwesten Chinas die letzten jener sogenannten "Sechzehn Staaten der Fünf Hu-Barbaren" aus den Völkerbewegungen des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts zerfielen, Gründungen der späten Hiung-nu und der nach Westen vorgedrungenen Sien-pi-Stämme ebenso wie insbesondere auch der dort ansässigen Ti und K'iang – während sich gleichzeitig der grosse Staat Wei vom Sien-pi-Stamm der T'o-pa über ganz Nordchina bis nach Tun-huang auszubreiten begann, in heftigen Kämpfen mit dem mächtigen Stammesverband der Jou-jan im Steppenhochland Innerasiens und natürlich auch mit den chinesischen Dynastien im Süden.

Tang-ch'ang wie Teng-chi, die sich zur gleichen Zeit anderthalb Jahrhunderte lang in einer gewissen politischen Unabhängigkeit nebeneinander behauptet haben, gehören beide dem grossen Kreis der K'iang-Völker an. Ihr Auftreten vollzieht sich zunächst nur am Rande dieser grossen politischen Neugruppierung, ist aber doch offensichtlich eine Folge des Zusammenbruchs vor allem der erwähnten Staatengründungen der Ti und der K'iang.

Allerdings geben diese politisch-militärischen Ereignisse als auslösende

³ Zusammenhängende Berichte, die allerdings oft teilweise mehr oder weniger gleichlautend sind, finden sich in den dynastischen Geschichtswerken (nach der Po-na-Ausgabe): *Nan-Ts'ü-shu* 59, 12b–13a; *Liang-shu* 54, 44b–45a; *Wei-shu* 101, 21a–22b, 26a; *Chou-shu* 49, 13a–15b; *Pei-shi* 96, 20a–22b; *Nan-shi* 79, 10a–b; *Sui-shu* 83, 5a–6a; *Kiu T'ang-shu* 198, 1b–3b; *Sin T'ang-shu* 221A, 1a–3b. Dazu kommen die verstreuten Nachrichten in den Kaiserannalen (*pen-ki*) und in den Biographien dieser Dynastiegeschichten sowie im *Sung-shu* und in den beiden *Wu-tai shi*. Wichtige Textvarianten und sachliche Ergänzungen bringen insbesondere *T'ung-tien* 190, 2b–3a; *T'ang hui-yao* 98, 1755–6; *Wu-tai hui-yao* 29, 353–5; dazu *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei* und *Tse-chi t'ung-kien*.

Faktoren noch keine hinreichende Erklärung für die politische Absonderung der Tang-ch'ang und der Teng-chi aus dem Kreise der ethnisch verwandten K'iang-Völker; sie wird auch hier im Fall der Tanguten wohl am ehesten im Bereich ihrer inneren gesellschaftlichen Struktur zu finden sein.

Nun ist gerade die vorangegangene Geschichte dieser sogenannten K'iang-Völker im Zeichen der grossen innerasiatischen Völkerwanderungen so ausserordentlich bewegt, und ihre Beziehungen zu all den vordringenden fremden Völkern seit der Han-Zeit im Laufe von wohl fünf Jahrhunderten durch Eroberung und Unterwerfung, durch Heirat, Spaltung und Abwanderung und auch durch den wirtschaftlichen Austausch zwischen nicht immer konstant bleibenden Wohn- und Herrschaftsgebieten sind so verwickelt, dass ich es im Interesse einer Klärung und Abgrenzung der Begriffe für bedenklich halte, den Begriff *Tanguten* aus ethnischen Erwägungen ohne weiteres retrospektiv auf alle diese K'iang-Völker anzuwenden. Auch die Spärlichkeit der Quellen für viele dieser Faktoren in jener frühen Zeit steht der notwendigen Herausarbeitung und Gegenüberstellung aller spezifischen Wesenszüge hindernd im Wege.

Die drei chinesischen Namensformen der Tanguten – Tang-ch'ang und Teng-chi vom Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts bis in die zweite Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts, und danach Tang-hiang – geben in ihrer ersten Silbe trotz der verschiedenen Rechtschreibung ganz offensichtlich den gleichen phonetischen Wert (*tâng*, *d'âng*, *d'ang*) wieder. Wichtig ist besonders die bisher noch nicht beachtete Form *Teng-chi* (*d'ang-tsi*) als die phonetische Umschrift des Namens, mit dem der Volksstamm sich selbst bezeichnet haben soll.⁴ *Tang-ch'ang* könnte wohl eine chinesische Mischform sein, während *Tang-hiang* – oder wahrscheinlich besser *Tang-hang* nach der alten Aussprache – wieder mehr den Eindruck einer rein phonetischen Bildung erweckt.

Auf das phonetische Problem der Beziehung dieser Formen etwa zu *K'iang* und zu *Ti* sowie vor allem zu *Tangyud*, dessen türkische Form *Tanyut* auf der Orkhon-Inschrift für Kül tegin aus dem Jahr 732 belegt ist, kann ich hier nicht eingehen. Mit einem Hinweis begnügen muss ich mich auch in der interessanten Frage nach der Bedeutung des Wortes *mi*, das in den Namen mehrerer K'iang-Stämme, in Königsnamen der Tang-ch'ang, in der Bezeichnung *Miñag* und später offenbar auch im Si-Hia-Wort für das Tangutenreich immer wiederkehrt.⁵

Der Name *Miñag* (chin. *mjię-iak*) ist nach chinesischem Zeugnis im

⁴ *Pei-shi* 96, 21a.

⁵ Ausser der Arbeit von Rolf Stein (siehe Anm. 2) und den dort angeführten Unter-

späten 7. Jahrhundert die tibetische Bezeichnung für die von ihnen unterworfenen Tang-hiang-Stämme; es ist zu fragen, ob man aus dem besonderen Zusammenhang dieser einen Erwähnung nicht doch auf eine ursprüngliche semantische Beziehung zu dieser Unterwerfung schliessen könnte.⁶ Auffällig ist, dass dieser Name in den zeitgenössischen tibetischen Dokumenten anscheinend nicht verwendet wird; auch die weitere Frage, unter welchem tibetischen Namen denn sonst die Tanguten damals zu suchen sind, ist meines Wissens noch nicht befriedigend geklärt.

Die ethnographischen Nachrichten der Chinesen über die Tanguten gelten sämtlich für den frühen Zeitraum des 5. und des 6. Jahrhunderts, als die Tanguten noch an Chinas Westgrenze, östlich und südlich vom Kuku-nor und im Nordwesten von Szechuan lebten, das heisst also ehe sie unter dem Druck der T'u-fan ihre grossen Wanderungen nordostwärts nach Shensi und ins Ordosgebiet antraten. Auch die ausführlichen Berichte der beiden T'ang-shu sowie der Wu-tai-shi beziehen sich nicht etwa auf die Verhältnisse zur T'ang-Zeit bzw. des 7.-10. Jahrhunderts; sie stellen vielmehr ganz offensichtlich spätere literarische Überlieferungsformen der selben älteren Berichte dar, welche in ihrer ursprünglichen, uns nicht mehr bekannten Form bereits den Geschichtsschreibern der Wei, der Chou und der Sui (zwischen 551 und 636) als Quellen gedient hatten. Erst in der Sung-Geschichte sind wieder neue ethnographische Nachrichten über die Tanguten der damaligen Zeit zusammengestellt worden,⁷ an denen wir in gewissen Grenzen die Wandlungen des kulturellen Bildes der Tanguten in Zeit und Umwelt erkennen können.

Die Tanguten dieser Frühzeit werden von den Chinesen ausdrücklich als sesshaft bezeichnet, und es fehlt die sonst für die eigentlichen Nomaden typische Formel, dass sie auf der Suche nach Weide und Wasser umhergezogen seien. Aus ihren regelmässigen Raubüberfällen und ihren Rückzügen, die oft über weite Entfernungen gingen, muss man allerdings doch auf einen recht hohen Grad der Beweglichkeit schliessen. Zuchttiere waren Yak, Schafe und Pferde. Auch Schweine und Maultiere werden genannt. Daraus könnte man wohl auch auf etwas Ackerbau schliessen,⁸

suchungen von N. A. Nevsky, von Wang Jinq-ru und Han Ju-lin ist noch die Arbeit von Nakashima Satoshi über das Si-Hia-Wort für das Tangutenreich, chin. *Pang-ni-ting*, *Pang-mien-ling* u.ä., zu nennen, in *Tōhō gakuho*, Tōkyō, 11, 233-242 (1940); weiteres Material werde ich a.a.O. vorlegen.

⁶ *Kiu T'ang-shu* 198, 2b; siehe dagegen R. Stein, S. 228. Auch T'u-yü-hun haben ja bei den T'u-fan die Rolle von Sklavenstämmen gespielt (*Sin T'ang-shu* 216B, 9b).

⁷ *Sung-shi* bringt bezeichnenderweise einen besonderen Bericht über die Tang-hiang (in Kap. 491), getrennt von den Kap. 485-6 über das Reich Si-Hia.

⁸ Nach Thurnwald, *Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde*, S. 316, 318, und Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet* (Wien, 1949), S. 58, 170.

zumindest in den tiefer gelegenen Gebieten; allerdings wird ausdrücklich betont: die Tanguten "verstehen sich nicht auf Aussaat und Ernte, und der Boden trägt keine der fünf Getreidearten". Die Gerste, aus der sie eine Art Bier bereiteten, führten sie aus anderen Ländern ein. – Über ihre Nahrung heisst es nur: "Sie leben von ihrem Vieh".

Zur Kleidung dienten grobe Wollstoffe, Filz und Pelze. Als besondere Kostbarkeit galten Tigerfelle, die sie als Tauschmittel benutzten. In Tigerfellen wurden auch ihre Toten beigesetzt. Nach einer späteren Quelle verbrannten sie die Toten.

Sie wohnten in Zelten, die "Firststangen und Vordach hatten und mit Tuchbahnen aus Jakhaaren und Schafwolle gedeckt waren, welche einmal im Jahr erneuert wurden".⁹

Als Tributgeschenke brachten sie Schafe und Pferde nach China, ferner Süssholzwurzeln, Zinnober, Kupfersulfat und Gelbocker. Sie bekamen dafür Panzerpferde und Wagen, Seide und Brokat.

An Musikinstrumenten hatten sie Laute und Querflöte, die typischen Instrumente der nördlichen Reitervölker, sowie Tongefässe, auf denen sie den Takt schlugen.

Sie hatten keinen Kalender und ebensowenig eine Schrift. Auch eine Verwendung von Kerbstöcken, wie sie z.B. die T'u-fan hatten, lässt sich für die Tanguten nicht nachweisen.¹⁰

Eine gewisse Kenntnis der chinesischen Schrift mag vielleicht vorhanden gewesen sein. So baten sie im Jahre 488 China um Heeresstatuten, um Musikantinnen und um allerlei Bücher. Darauf erhielten sie allerdings vom Kaiser den folgenden diplomatischen Bescheid: "Wisset, dass Heeresstatuten und alle solche Dinge verabscheuenswert sind. Allein schon an Heeresgerät gibt es so vielerlei, dass es nicht leicht wäre, es zu transportieren. Den Tänzerinnen am Kaiserhof kann man nicht zumuten, so weit in die Ferne zu gehen. Die Pläne und Schriften des Kaiserlichen Archivs sind noch niemals fremden Händen überlassen worden. Von den Fünf Kanonischen Büchern mit den gesammelten

⁹ Dass sie in Häusern gewohnt haben sollen, die sie mit Fellen deckten, wie W. Eberhard (*Kultur und Siedlung der Randvölker Chinas* [Leiden, 1942], g 43, g 46 und S. 84) den sprachlich allerdings nicht ganz einfachen Bericht deutet, halte ich auf Grund der Textüberlieferung nicht für zutreffend; die späteren Fassungen zeigen, dass der ursprüngliche Bericht wahrscheinlich schon von den chinesischen Geschichtsschreibern nicht mehr recht verstanden worden ist. Er stimmt übrigens auffallend mit der Beschreibung überein, die Matthias Hermanns, S. 42–45, vom Zelthaus der Amdo-Nomaden gibt. Auch Eberhard schliesst S. 84 aus ihren weiten Raubzügen, dass sie auch Zelte besessen haben müssen. – Aus der späteren Ordos-Zeit der Tanguten wird stets nur von Zelten berichtet.

¹⁰ Nach der ältesten, noch nicht entstellten Textüberlieferung im *Chou-shu* 49, 13b.

Kommentaren und Erörterungen lasse ich Euch heute durch besonderes Dekret ein Exemplar als Geschenk zukommen!"¹¹

Hervorgehoben wird der wilde, kriegerische Geist der Tanguten. Sie kämpften zu Pferde und verteidigten sich in den Bergen hinter Palisaden und Erdwällen. Bogenschiessen war ein beliebter Wettkampf.

Wenn es heisst, dass ihre Neigung zu Raub und Diebstahl soweit gehe, sich sogar untereinander zu misshandeln und zu berauben, so bezieht sich das wohl auf gewisse Umgangsformen besonders ihrer einzelnen Stämme. – Eine grosse Rolle spielte die Blutrache. "Solange der Rächer seine Rache noch nicht hat vollstrecken können, muss er mit wirrem Haar und schmutzigem Gesicht, barfuss und sich nur von Kräutern nährend, seinem Feinde auflauern, und erst wenn er ihn erschlagen hat, benimmt er sich wieder normal."

Sie hatten Levirat und Exogamie.

Jeder Stamm wurde von Häuptlingen aus einer Familie angeführt; für die Nachfolge in der Stammesführung innerhalb der Familie gab es anscheinend keine feste Regelung. Grosse Stämme – ihre Stärke gibt der chinesische Bericht mit fünftausend oder zehntausend Reitern an – konnten sich in mehrere kleine, von derselben Familie geführte Stämme teilen, deren Stärke sich auf rund tausend Reiter belaufen haben soll. Jeder Stamm lebte in einem ihm zugeteilten Gebiet mehr oder weniger abgesondert für sich. Der grössere Zusammenhalt aller Stämme zeigte sich in feierlichen Zusammenkünften, die alle drei Jahre stattfanden und wobei man gemeinsam dem Himmel Schafe und Rinder opferte. Auch in Kriegszeiten schlossen sie sich zusammen und unterstellten sich anscheinend der militärischen und politischen Führung eines Oberhäuptlings.

So tritt in den kriegerischen Verwickelungen und diplomatischen Beziehungen der Tang-ch'ang ebenso wie der Teng-chi stets nur ein- und dieselbe Familie als führend auf; wir können die Reihe ihrer Herrscher – die Chinesen nennen sie Könige (*wang*) – aus den verstreuten Angaben durch anderthalb Jahrhunderte zum Teil fast lückenlos rekonstruieren. Ihre Familiennamen waren bereits sinisiert, doch ihre persönlichen Namen haben noch unverkennbar fremden Klang. Es ist zu untersuchen, ob man aus diesen Namen vielleicht schon gewisse Hinweise auf die sprachliche Stellung ihrer Träger gewinnen könnte.

Auch von den einzelnen Stämmen der Tanguten in dieser Frühzeit sind uns einige Namen überliefert, jedoch das Fehlen aller sonstigen Nach-

¹¹ *Nan-Ts'i-shu* 59, 12b–13a.

richten und Zusammenhänge – bestenfalls wird noch die Lage ihres Stammesgebietes angedeutet und bemerkt, dass sie “ungefähr dieselben Sitten” haben – lässt uns hier auf sehr unsicherem Boden.

Erst im Laufe des 7.–10. Jahrhunderts, als mit der zunehmenden Bedeutung der Tanguten auch die chinesischen Nachrichten ergiebiger werden, können wir mit einer wachsenden Anzahl von Stammesnamen auch etwas anschaulichere Vorstellungen verbinden, über ihre Wanderungen und Wohnsitze, ihre Machtstellung inmitten anderer Volksstämme usw. – und auch in der so wichtigen Frage nach ihrer Herkunft kommen wir nun in vereinzelt Fällen zu verhältnismässig sicheren Schlüssen. Allerdings sind nun die Verhältnisse in der veränderten Umwelt – vom nördlichen Ordosbogen bis fast an das Ufer des Wei – so ausserordentlich verwickelt, dass ich die Fülle der neuen Faktoren hier nur grob andeuten kann.

Während ihre Häuptlinge, voran die grosse Familie T'o-pa, sich z.B. bei der Verteidigung von Ch'ang-an gegen die T'u-fan 764–765, und später, 881–882 beim Aufstand des Huang Ch'ao vor allem, verdient machen und als chinesische Militärgouverneure an festen Orten immer stärkere Macht um sich sammeln, erscheint die Masse der Tanguten wirtschaftlich noch deutlicher als Nomaden mit Zelten und Weideplätzen. Sie halten jetzt auch Kamele, und neben Rindern und Schafen gewinnt vor allem ihre Pferdezucht immer mehr an Bedeutung. Ihr Tauschhandel mit den chinesischen Kaufleuten – für ihre Rinder, Schafe und Pferde verlangen sie jetzt Seide und vor allem Werkzeuge, Waffen und Rüstungen! – nimmt so grossen Umfang an, dass die chinesische Regierung solchen bedrohlichen Waffenhandel mehrfach verbietet. Im Pferdehandel konkurrieren die Tanguten mit den Uiguren, und wieder muss die Regierung eingreifen, die Preise festsetzen und Pferdemarkte in die Grenzorte legen, damit die Hauptstadt nicht zu sehr von sogenannten Gesandtschaften der Tanguten überlaufen wird, die unter dem Vorwand von Tributgeschenken ihre Pferde dort zu Überpreisen loswurden. Die chinesische Nachfrage nach Tangutenpferden war offenbar so stark, dass diese Pseudo-Gesandtschaften allen Verboten zum Trotz immer wieder bis in die Hauptstadt vordrangen. An den Strassen, die sie zogen, mussten neue staatliche Rasthäuser errichtet werden, und die Lebensmittelpreise stiegen dort auf das Doppelte. Denn diese Gesandtschaften erhielten unterwegs und in der Hauptstadt freie Unterkunft und Verpflegung, wie alle fremden Missionen und Staatsgäste. Obendrein erhielten sie reiche Geschenke und wurden oft vom Kaiser selbst empfangen und bewirtet, sodass die Pferdepreis-Beschränkungen dadurch reichlich wett gemacht wurden.

Dabei stieg der Wohlstand der Stämme rapide; er bildete die wirtschaftliche Grundlage für ihre spätere Selbständigkeit.

Die Tanguten sassen jetzt, im 10. Jahrhundert, nicht nur überall innerhalb des grossen Huang-ho-Bogens, mit den Schwerpunkten dort, wo sie – insbesondere die T'o-pa-Sippe – sich im späten 7. und im 8. Jahrhundert niedergelassen hatten, sondern sie hatten sich erstaunlich weit ausgebreitet: Nach Osten waren sie über den Huang-ho bis in die Gegend von T'ai-yüan gezogen, nördlich vom Ordosbogen trafen sie mit den Shi-wei zusammen, in Ho-si, westlich vom Ho-lan-shan, rieben sie sich mit den Uiguren, ihre führenden Familien sassen in Liang-chou und darüber hinaus bis in Tun-huang.

Dabei lässt sich nun eine einheitliche Führung aller Tanguten etwa durch die zweifellos mächtigste Familie der T'o-pa ebensowenig nachweisen wie irgend eine höhere Verbundenheit der tangutischen Stämme, etwa im Sinne einer Art von "nationalem Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl". Verpflichtender scheinen eher gewisse Querverbindungen zwischen führenden Sippen ethnisch verschiedener Völkerstämme gewesen zu sein, wie sie in Heiraten und in gemeinsamen Kriegs- und Beutezügen zum Ausdruck kommen. So muss eine Verbindung Tang-hiang/T'u-yü-hun/Nu-la/Shat'o – also zwischen Tanguten, Sien-pi und Türken – durchaus typisch genannt werden. Auch mit den Tibetern sind sie oft zusammengegangen, obwohl es nicht selten wieder zu schweren Kämpfen kam, ebenso wie mit den Uiguren. Andere nahe Nachbarn waren Sogdier, K'i-tan, Shi-wei – Vorläufer der Mongolen also – und dazu dann die Chinesen selbst.

Im Rahmen dieses kurzen Berichtes kann ich nicht mehr eingehen auf die einzelnen Stämme und Klane, die neben der Familie T'o-pa an der Gründung von Si-Hia beteiligt gewesen sind. Die Familie T'o-pa hat sich dabei zweifellos in erster Linie auf die Tanguten gestützt, die, soweit es sich erkennen lässt, unter den Völkern des Si-Hia-Reiches die grosse Mehrheit dargestellt haben.

Es ist aber auch nicht zu übersehen, dass die einzelnen Stämme der Tanguten sich dem beginnenden Staatswesen der T'o-pa keineswegs einhellig unterstellt haben. Gab schon den Anstoss zur Gründung ein Zwist innerhalb der Familie T'o-pa selbst, so finden wir Si-Hia auch noch im 11. Jahrhundert immer wieder im Kampf gerade mit Tang-hiang-Stämmen, welche sich besonders im Nordosten und im Südwesten in jeder Hinsicht höchst unzuverlässig erwiesen – Nutzniesser der wechselnden machtpolitischen Konstellation zwischen den drei grossen Reichen Sung, Liao und Hia.¹²

¹² Dies zeigt die eingehende Untersuchung von Frau Yamamoto Sumiko, "Godai

Hier erhebt sich nun die zentrale Frage: Wer waren eigentlich diese T'o-pa, die Gründer des Reiches Si-Hia?

Über die Herkunft der Familie T'o-pa bei den Tang-hiang gehen die Meinungen der europäischen und auch der ostasiatischen Gelehrten seit langem auseinander, eigentlich wohl schon seit dem 10. Jahrhundert etwa, als die chinesischen Geschichtsschreiber sie entweder als das mächtigste Geschlecht der Tanguten oder aber als Abkömmlinge des gleichnamigen Kaiserhauses der Wei-Dynastie – aus dem Stamm der Sien-pi also – bezeichneten, deren Name T'o-pa ja auch praktisch dieselbe Orthographie hat. Nachdem Devéria im Jahre 1901 diese beiden Überlieferungen wiedergegeben hatte, ohne selbst deutlich Stellung zu nehmen,¹³ wies drei Jahre später Chavannes¹⁴ die Überlieferung von der Abstammung von den Wei-Herrschern – also die Sien-pi-These – mit dem gewichtigen Einwand zurück, sie sei nichts weiter als die Erfindung eines Genealogen, der damit der Eitelkeit der Si-Hia-Herrscher habe schmeicheln wollen; mit der Notiz des Neuen T'ang-shu von Ou-yang Siu (1054–1060), wonach die T'o-pa das mächtigste von acht Geschlechtern der Tang-hiang sei, stehe die tibetische – bzw. tangutische – Abstammung der Herrscher von Si-Hia fest. Diese Auffassung hat auch Otto Franke noch 1944 im 5. Bande seiner Geschichte Chinas nachdrücklich vertreten,¹⁵ während dagegen Eberhard in seinem Werk über die T'o-pa von 1949 mit der Sien-pi-Abstammung dieser Tang-hiang-T'o-pa als einer selbstverständlichen Gegebenheit operiert, ohne die doch vorhandene Problematik zu erwähnen.¹⁶

Der älteste Bericht über die T'o-pa bei den Tang-hiang führt an die Wende des 6. zum 7. Jahrhundert, als die Sui und nach ihnen die T'ang in wechselnden Kämpfen mit den Tanguten und deren nördlichen Nachbarn, den T'u-yü-hun, lagen. Als diese Kämpfe 633 mit einer ausserordentlich schweren Niederlage der T'u-yü-hun sich ihrem Ende näherten, traten zwei Jahre später – offensichtlich im Zuge der allgemeinen Unterwerfungstendenz – auch drei Häuptlinge namens T'o-pa zu den Chinesen über. Wir haben darüber im alten T'ang-shu nicht weniger als drei aus-

Sō-sho no Tōkō-minzoku oyobi sono Sei-Ka kenkoku to no kankei," *Tōyō gakuho*, 33, 25–51 (1950).

¹³ G. Devéria, "L'écriture du royaume de Si-Hia ou Tangout," *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, I, XI, 1 (Paris, 1901), S. 159–160, 170.

¹⁴ Ed. Chavannes, "Dix inscriptions chinoises de l'Asie Centrale," *ebenda*, I, XI, 2 (1904), S. 205, n. 1.

¹⁵ O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, V. (1952), S. 71.

¹⁶ W. Eberhard, *Das Toba-Reich Nordchinas* (Leiden, 1949), S. 308, 323, 382. – Siehe darüber jetzt auch R. Stein, *a.a.O.*

fürhliche Berichte,¹⁷ aus denen man schliessen kann, dass vor allem der älteste dieser Häuptlinge, T'o-pa Ch'i-ts'e, eine recht bedeutende Figur gewesen sein muss, dessen Unterwerfung nach heftigen Kämpfen und längeren diplomatischen Verhandlungen einen entscheidenden Erfolg für die Chinesen darstellte, die Macht der T'u-yü-hun und der Tang-hiang aufzusplintern. Für seinen Übertritt erhielt er nicht nur den Titel eines Militärgouverneurs der Barbaren des Westens verliehen, sondern sogar den kaiserlichen Familiennamen Li. In allen drei Berichten wird dieser T'o-pa Ch'i-ts'e nun ausdrücklich als Häuptling der Tang-hiang bzw. der K'iang bezeichnet – zugleich aber wird bei diesem Anlass eingehend berichtet, dass er ursprünglich nicht nur den T'u-yü-hun untertan gewesen sei sondern ein sehr naher Freund und Vertrauter des T'u-yü-hun-Herrschers Fu-yün aus dem Geschlecht der Mu-jung und mit ihm durch Heirat verbunden. Diese Stellung der T'o-pa im Reich der T'u-yü-hun gewinnt durch eine ältere Nachricht¹⁸ noch an Deutlichkeit und Gewicht: schon im Jahre 588 hatte sich ein gewisser T'o-pa Mu-mi mit über tausend Familien den Sui unterworfen, und dieser T'o-pa wird ausdrücklich als "Unterkönig der T'u-yü-hun" bezeichnet! Es ist nun bekannt, dass diese T'u-yü-hun oder jedenfalls ihre Führungsschicht Sien-pi aus der Familie Mu-jung gewesen sind, die auf ihrer Wanderung nach Westen im frühen 4. Jahrhundert nördlich und westlich vom Kukunor ein neues Reich gegründet hatten, das sie im Lauf der Zeit immer weiter nach Süden ausdehnten. Dabei gerieten sie in enge, nicht immer friedliche Berührung mit dem tangutischen Volksstamm der Po-lan westlich vom Kukunor zunächst und dann mit den Tang-ch'ang und den Tang-hiang. Dieser Kontakt ist nicht nur auf diese Frühzeit beschränkt geblieben, sondern er ist auch in den folgenden Jahrhunderten bis in die Gründungszeit von Si-Hia immer wieder sehr deutlich erkennbar. Denn mit den Tanguten waren seit dem 7. Jahrhundert unter dem Druck der T'u-fan auch die T'u-yü-hun nach Osten ins Ordos-Land gezogen, und wenn auch die chinesischen Behörden sich dort wiederholt bemühten – übrigens ohne rechten Erfolg –, beide voneinander getrennt zu halten, so geschah das ganz offensichtlich weniger um zwei Streithähne auseinanderzuhalten, sondern um sie am engeren Zusammengehen zu verhindern.

Für unsere Frage der T'o-pa bei den T'u-yü-hun in dieser späteren Zeit liegt im Wu-tai shi-ki des Ou-yang Siu (1072) eine gewichtige Behauptung vor: die drei führenden Familien der T'u-yü-hun seien die Mu-jung, die

¹⁷ *Kiu T'ang-shu* 198, 2b; 60, 3a–b; 57, 9a.

¹⁸ *Tse-chi t'ung-kien* 176, 28a; vgl. *Pei-shi* 96, 8a.

Ho-lien und die T'o-pa!¹⁹ Der Wert dieser Aussage ist allerdings schwer nachzuprüfen, denn unter den sehr zahlreichen Trägern des Namens T'o-pa lässt sich kein einziger einwandfrei den T'u-yü-hun zurechnen. Vermuten lässt es sich lediglich für einen T'o-pa-General (Huai-kuang),²⁰ der in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts abseits in Kansu, östlich vom Kuku-nor, für den Tibeter Shang-pi-pi kämpfte, auf dessen Seite auch Truppen der T'u-yü-hun standen; aber auch das reicht nicht zu einem Beweis.

Wohl aber erlauben uns die angeführten Fakten, auf weitere Umstände hinzuweisen, die eine Sien-pi-Abstammung auch der sogenannten tangutischen T'o-pa, den Gründern von Si-Hia, nicht unmöglich erscheinen lassen. Wir wissen, dass bereits um die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts ein Bruder des Sien-pi-Häuptlings T'o-pa Li-wei sich von den T'o-pa im Osten getrennt hat und mit seiner Horde westwärts am grossen Huang-ho-Bogen vorbei nach Kansu abgewandert ist, wo seine Nachkommen unter dem Stammesnamen T'u-fa schliesslich im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert eigene Reiche²¹ gegründet haben, ehe sie vom grösseren T'o-pa-Reich Wei aufgesogen wurden. Eben diese T'u-fa, ein direkter Zweig der T'o-pa also – ihr Name T'u-fa ist offensichtlich nur eine volksetymologische Verballhornung: Kahlköpfe, d.h. Zopfträger²² – sind in dauernde Kämpfe gerade mit den K'iang verwickelt gewesen, welche zeitlich fast genau an die ersten Jahre der Tang-ch'ang heranreichen! – und die zeitgenössischen Geschichtsschreiber haben sie vielleicht nicht lediglich aus der naheliegenden phonetischen Beziehung auch mit den Tibetern, den T'u-fan, in Verbindung gebracht.²³ Als dann 585 und 588 die ersten T'o-pa bei den T'u-yü-hun und ebenso bei den Tang-hiang nachweisbar sind,²⁴ waren nur wenige Jahrzehnte seit dem Zerfall des T'o-pa-Wei-Reiches verstrichen.

Auffällig ist ferner, dass im Jahre 1038 Yüan-hao in seiner feierlichen Proklamation zum Kaiser von Gross-Hia²⁵ sich nicht nur auf seine Abstammung vom Kaiserhaus der T'o-pa-Wei berief – das mag allerdings eine genealogische Rekonstruktion sein – sondern vor allem, dass er sein Reich Ta-Hia nannte, in betonter Anlehnung an die Tradition jenes

¹⁹ *Wu-tai shi-ki* 74, 2a.

²⁰ *Sin T'ang-shu* 216B, 8b.

²¹ Tai und (Süd-) Liang. Siehe Peter A. Boodberg, "The Language of the T'o-pa Wei," *HJAS*, 1, 168–9 (1936).

²² Nach Peter A. Boodberg, *HJAS*, 1, 183–5, und 3, 239–40 (1938).

²³ M.W. zuerst gegen Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts im *T'ung-tien* 190, 3a, dann im *Kiu T'ang-shu* 196A, 1a (941–945).

²⁴ Nach *Sui-shu* 83, 3a unterwirft sich i.J. 585 T'o-pa Ning-ts'ung von den Tang-hiang dem Sui-Kaiser und 588 T'o-pa Mu-mi von den T'u-yü-hun (siehe Anm. 18).

²⁵ *Sü tse-chi t'ung-kien chang-pien* 123, 2. Jahr pao-nien, 1. Monat.

Reiches Ta-Hia, das vor mehr als 600 Jahren (407–431) im Ordos-Gebiet von eben derselben Familie Ho-lien gegründet worden war, die, obwohl der Abstammung nach Hiung-nu und nicht Sien-pi, dann im T'o-pa-Wei-Reich aufging und später als eine der drei mächtigsten Familien im Stammesverband der T'u-yü-hun erscheint!

Vielleicht darf man nach all diesen Anzeichen doch die Vermutung aussprechen, dass die T'o-pa der Tang-hiang, die Begründer von Si-Hia, nach ihrer Herkunft Sien-pi gewesen sind.

Wenn sie auch wohl keine direkten Nachkommen vom Kaiserhaus der T'o-pa-Wei sind, so könnten sie doch mit etwas grösserer Wahrscheinlichkeit von jenem älteren Zweige der T'o-pa stammen, welche bereits in früher Zeit, vor der Gründung von Wei, über das Gebiet der T'u-yü-hun am Kukunor südwärts zu den Tanguten – und unter Umständen damals bereits bis zu den Tibetern – vorgedrungen sind und auch unter diesen Völkern ganz allmählich staatenbildende Impulse ausgelöst haben.²⁶

In welchem Grade diese T'o-pa allerdings im Verlaufe von fünfhundert oder mehr Jahren ihrerseits "tangutisiert" worden waren, ehe sie Si-Hia gründeten – die Reichssprache von Si-Hia²⁷ lässt keine Verbindung etwa zur T'o-pa-Sprache erkennen! – das wird wohl unserer Kenntnis entzogen bleiben.

²⁶ Vgl. W. Eberhard, *Conquerors and Rulers*, S. 79 (1952).

²⁷ Ihre schriftliche Überlieferung beginnt frühestens seit dem Jahre 1036.

ÜBER EINE KALMÜCKISCHE HANDSCHRIFT DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK

von

UDO POSCH

Seattle

Im Katalog Nr. 31 der Handschriftenabteilung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek ist unter der Rubrik CATALOGIIS CODD. AETHIOP. ARME. COPTIC angeführt „*Mâhâyâna Sutra* – buddhistisches Religionswerk – Das unermessliche Lebensalter und die unermessliche Erkenntnis – Aus dem Tibetischen ins Mongolische übersetzt.“ Darunter steht folgende Bemerkung geschrieben: „Vergleiche den Jahresbericht der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1846, Seite 84, Note 2, wo es heisst ... in lithographiertem Abdruck besorgt durch den Baron Schilling von Canstadt,¹ herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Petersbrug 1845 in tibetischem Texte, wo es den Beisatz *Des Ehrwürdigen Mâhâyâna Sutra* hat.“²

Soweit die Beschreibung im Handschriftenkatalog, die vom Sinologen Freiherr von Rosthorn erstellt wurde.

Diese Handschrift ist in Wirklichkeit nicht in mongolischer, sondern in kalmückischer Sprache abgefasst. Die kalmückische Schrift ist schön wie gestochen und klar lesbar.

Das Format der Handschrift ist 23 mal 8 Zentimeter. Die vormaligen Blätter, siebenunddreissig an der Zahl, sind nach Art europäischer Bücher später gebunden worden. Das Papier, offenbar russischer Herkunft, ist stark vergilbt und an den Rändern abgegriffen. Die chemische und physikalische Untersuchung, durchgeführt vom Chemischen Institut der Universität Wien, ergab ein Alter von approximativ 180 Jahren, was auf das ungefähre Alter der Handschrift schliessen lässt.

¹ L. Ligeti, "La collection mongole Schilling von Canstadt à la bibliothèque de l'Institut", *T'oung Pao*, XXVII (1930), pp. 160 ff.

² Zur Vajracchedikā-Literatur siehe M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, 2. Band, Erste Hälfte (Leipzig, 1913), p. 249; Tokumyo Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1932); Ernst Leumann, *Zur Nordarischen Sprache und Literatur* (Strassburg, 1912).

Die von späterer Hand hinzugefügte Paginierung fängt mit *Seite fünf* an. Die Handschrift, welche am 2. Oktober 1858 von Dr. Behrnauer der K.K. Hofbibliothek geschenkt worden ist, trägt auf der Innenseite des Einbanddeckels die Signatur: *Cod. Mongol. 1.*

Wie schon festgestellt und übrigens auch aus einer mit Bleistift geschriebenen Bemerkung, die auf dem ersten, vom Buchbinder hinzugefügten Blatt geschrieben steht, hervorgeht, fehlen unglücklicherweise die ersten vier Seiten des Manuskriptes. Aus diesem Grunde kann der genaue Wortlaut des kalmückischen Titels nicht geboten werden.

Meines Erachtens stammt die Handschrift aus dem Besitze H. A. Zwicks, da die hinzugefügten, handschriftlichen, in deutscher Sprache abgefassten Randbemerkungen dasselbe Schriftbild zeigen, wie Zwicks's Handschrift in seiner handgeschriebenen, lithographierten *Grammatik des Westmongolischen*, die in Königsfeld im Jahre 1851 erschienen ist.

Was den exakten Titel der kalmückischen Handschrift betrifft, so heisst er auf Sanskrit *Ārya-Vajracchedikā-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-mahāyānasūtra*, auf Tibetisch *Hphags-pa śes-rab-Kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa rdo-rje gcod-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*, welches Werk im tibetischen Bkaḥ-ḥgyur (Sde-rge Edition) unter der Abteilung *śes-phyin* aufgenommen ist. Es hat das Signum Ka. 121a¹–132b⁷ nach Ui-Suzuki-Kanakura-Tada, *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-Ḥgyur* (Tôhoku Imperial University, Japan, 1934).

Im gedruckten mongolischen Bkaḥ-ḥgyur (Kanḥur) nach dem *Catalogue du Kanḥur Mongol Imprimé* von Louis Ligeti ist es in der Gruppe *Eldeb bilig baramid (śer-phyin)*. Der mongolische Titel lautet dort *Qutuy-tu včir-iyar oyталуγчи билig-ün činadu kiḡayar-a kürügsen neretü yeke kölgen sudur*. (Col.: *ilayurysan kedüi бүкii nomlaysan nom-un yosun-u yool tegün-ü jirüken билig-ün činadu kiḡayar-a kürügsen: qoγosun-ača bolurysan helge билig-ün včir-iyar: kedüi toγatan jobalang-un уγ uqayan-i oyталуγчи egün-i: jambudvib-un yeke delekei-dekin-ü asaraqui-bar mandurγulurγči: küčün auyatu delekei-dekin-ü qurmusda ali tegün-ü jarliγ-i oroi-dur-iya, abču бүр-ün: banča-tirista (?) kelemürči: tngriiner-ün kelen-eče nayin jokistay-a orčiyulγu tamayahurγulbai ::*).

Im Jahre 1897 gab Charles de Harlez die mandschurische Version des *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Vajracchedikā* in der *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* heraus. Sein mandschurischer Titel ist: *Sure ulhisu cargi dalin de akōnaha kin k'eng biḥe*.

Die tibetische Version hat J. I. Schmidt unter dem Titel *Über das Mahāyāna und Prajñāpāramitā der Baudhen* in den *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg* (VI. ser., 4. vol., pp. 123 ff.)

herausgeben. Neben I. J. Schmidt's deutscher Übersetzung gibt es noch die von M. Walleser in *Prajñāpāramitā, die Vollkommenheit der Erkenntnis* (Göttingen-Leipzig, 1914), pp. 140ff.

Alles weitere über die kalmückische Version des *Ārya-Vajracchedikā-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-mahāyānasūtra*, im Besitze der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, wird in der vollständigen Ausgabe, die aus dem photographiertem Text, der Transkription und einem Glossar bestehen wird, zu finden sein. Ich habe mich zur Ausgabe umso eher entschlossen, als es meines Wissens die einzige Handschrift dieser Art ist, die ausserhalb Russlands existiert. Ein weiterer Grund, der mich zu diesem Schritte entschloss, ist die Tatsache, dass es nicht allzu viele, mit Glossar und Erklärungen versehene oiratische Literaturproben ausserhalb Russlands gibt, die auch für die Forscher der altaischen Philologie von Nutzen sind. Ausserdem verpflichtet uns die Zerstörung der kalmückischen Handschriften der Dresdener Bibliothek, die 1944 erfolgt ist, zu behandeln, was da noch zu behandeln gibt.³

* Siehe N. N. Poppe, "Stand der Kalmückenforschung", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, LII, 3. und 4. Heft (Wien, 1955).

REVIEWS

Shrī Aurobindo, *Sämtliche Werke*, I. Band: *Gedanken und Einblicke*; II. Band: *Die Mutter*. (Indische Weisheit). Rascher Verlag, Zürich.

The works of Aurobindo Ghosh (Shrī Aurobindo, 1872–1950), who was one of the most remarkable religious figures of his age, or, rather, who was an incarnation of eminent spiritual powers, have not failed to attract the attention of many readers in the West. After having acquired a thorough scientific knowledge of Indian and European philosophy and an insight into the history of human culture he settled down at Pondicherry, teaching and preaching a way for those who, on the foundations laid by the ancient Indian sages, the philosophers of Vedānta, and especially the great masters of Yoga, attempt to establish a religious synthesis acceptable to all men, or at least to find an answer to problems left unanswered by other creeds. The first volume contains a preface by J. Herbert who has much exerted himself to spread the knowledge of Indian wisdom and religions in the West, and a study of the yoga of Aurobindo by N. K. Gupta.

Utrecht

J. Gonda

Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* (= *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, Vol. 110). Helsinki, 1955.

Jede Disziplin der Sprachwissenschaft hat ihre Geschichte mit ihren Höhepunkten. Die Mongolistik war reich an sensationellen Ereignissen, besonders während der letzten drei Jahrzehnte. Abgesehen von J. Ramstedt's und B. A. Vladimirtsov's epochemachenden Werken, waren Prof. Erich Haenisch' Bearbeitung des *Manghol un niuca tobca'an*, sowie Vater M. Mostaert's Urdus Wörterbuch solche Höhepunkte und mongolistische Grosstaten.

Es ist gar kein Zweifel, dass N. N. Poppe's neues Werk in die Geschichte der Mongolistik in ähnlicher Weise eingehen wird, wie seinerzeit der Brugman-Delbrück in die Geschichte der Indogermanistik. Prof. Poppe hat seinem Werk einen sehr bescheidenen Titel gegeben, obgleich es eine ziemlich vollständige phonetische und morphologische Behandlung aller jener mongolischen Sprachen und Dialekte darstellt, die heute bekannt sind. Viele dieser Sprachen und Dialekte sind ja, wie bekannt, von N. N. Poppe selbst erst erforscht worden. Ich möchte daher die *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* als das Ergebnis einer dreissigjährigen, intensiven Forschungsarbeit bezeichnen. Zweifellos, es ist des berühmten Forschers bisher grösstes und reifstes Werk, in dem alle Probleme der mongolischen Phonetik und Morphologie mit der N. Poppe's eigenen Klarheit und Präzision vorgeführt werden. Poppe's Methode ist über jede Kritik erhaben, desgleichen das Material, und man kann sicher sein, dass dieses neue Werk als Modell für die noch zu schreibende vergleichende Grammatik der Turksprachen dienen wird.¹

Der Sinn einer echten Buchkritik ist zu sagen, was gut und was schlecht ist, hinzu-

¹ Zuerst allerdings müssten wir Einzeluntersuchungen aller Türksprachen vom wissenschaftlichen Format der Qaraqalpaqischen Grammatik von Karl. H. Menges (New York, 1947) haben.

zufügen, was vergessen, und zu korrigieren, was falsch gesagt oder gedruckt worden ist. Ich fürchte, dass uns in diesem Falle nichts anderes übrig bleibt, als unsere tiefste Bewunderung und unseren ehrlichen Dank für ein gewaltiges Werk der Wissenschaft auszudrücken. Im folgenden eine Beschreibung der *Introduction*. Eine kurze Geschichte der sprachwissenschaftlichen Erforschung der mongolischen Sprachen und Dialekte (pp. 5–14) leitet das Werk ein, darauf folgt von p. 14 bis p. 23 die Klassifikation mit einer kurzen Charakteristik der einzelnen Idiome. Die Entwicklung vom Gemein-Mongolisch bis zu den Dialekten unserer Zeit ist konzipiert skizziert. Darauf folgt der bedeutendste Part des Buches, die Phonetik von p. 24 bis p. 173. Hier wird jeder Vokal und jeder Konsonant in allen phonetisch möglichen Positionen untersucht, wobei der Entwicklungsgang vom Gemeinmongolischen bis zur Representation in den modernen Dialekten an Hand von hunderten Etymologien vorgeführt wird. Zusammenfassende Tabellen machen es dem Leser besonders leicht, sich zurechtzufinden. Behandelt werden gewöhnlich neun Sprachen, Schriftmongolisch, Mittelmongolisch, Dagurisch, Monguor, Urdus, Khalkha, Burjatisch, Mogolisch, und Kalmückisch. Der Mangel an innermongolischem Material macht sich natürlich bemerkbar, daher kommt es, dass Tschahar, Khartschin, Aru Khortschin, Gorlos, Durbut Beise nur gelegentlich erwähnt werden.

Was etymologischen Wortreihen betrifft, so vermisst man so gut wie ganz die schriftoiratischen, sowie die schriftburjatischen Formen. Erstere sind natürlich wichtiger als letztere, vor allem deshalb, weil das Oiratische genetisch in der Mitte zwischen Gemeinmongolisch und modernem Dialekt steht, z.B. mo. *qota* "Stadt", oir. *χoton* id. (p. 29); mo. *miqan* "Fleisch", oir. *maχan* id. (p. 39); mo. *sira* "braten", oir. *šara*- id. (p. 39); mo. *siŋyu*- "(unter)tauchen", oir. *šingge*- id. (p. 40); mo. *šisun* "Blut", oir. *tsusun* id. (p. 40); mo. *siŋyu*- "sich verkriechen, hineinkriechen", oir. *šurγu*- "entschlüpfen, entgleiten, wegstechen" (p. 40); mo. *sidün* "Zahn", oir. *šüdün* id. (p. 41); mo. *ničügün* "nackt", oir. *nüčügün* id. (p. 41); mo. *nigül* "Sunde", oir. *nüül* id. (p. 41); mo. *birayu* "Kalb", oir. *birou* "zweijähriger Ochse"; mo. *yisün* "neun", oir. *yesün* id. (p. 41); mo. *ijayr* "Wurzel, Ursprung", oir. *izour* id. (p. 42); mo. *siroĭ* "Erde, Staub", oir. *šoroĭ* id. (p. 43); mo. *kituγa* "Messer", oir. *χutaγa* id. (p. 43); mo. *irügel* "Segen, Gebet", oir. *irööl ~ jöröl* (p. 44). mo. *kirüge* "Säge", oir. *körö* id. (p. 44); mo. *čimügen* "Knochenmark", oir. *čimegen* id. (p. 44); mo. *eligen* "Leber", oir. *eliken* id. (p. 46); mo. *ebüsün* "Heu", oir. *öbösi* id. (p. 47); Beispiele dieser Art können beliebig vermehrt werden.

Die Morphologie von p. 173 bis p. 251 ist genau so brilliant geschrieben wie der erste Teil des Werkes. Mit unerhörter Klarheit werden die Morpheme aller bisher bekannten mongolischer Sprachen und Dialekte behandelt. Aufgrund übersichtlicher Tafeln wird Poppe's Werk zu einem Nachschlagebuch, welches mehr oder weniger alle bisherigen Grammatiken, soweit es die Morphologie betrifft, ersetzt. Überhaupt bietet das gesamte Werk durch die Einheitlichkeit der Transkription, die sorgfältige Wahl der termini technici und *last but not least*, durch klare und korrekte Sprache einen überaus leichten Zugang zu Materialien, die bisher nur mit grossen Schwierigkeiten bewältigt werden konnten, da sie nur über das Medium fünf verschiedener Sprachen bewältigt werden konnten.

Von besonderem Interesse ist das Kapitel über die Zahlwörter, da es sehr überzeugend die Verwandtschaft der altaischen Zahlwörter dartut. Ich empfehle dieses Kapitel besonders den Gegnern der Altaischen Sprachverwandtschaft. Wenn von nun an weiterhin einige Forscher glauben, dass die altaische Sprachverwandtschaft noch immer nicht bewiesen sei "weil ja die Numeralia gar keine Übereinstimmung und etymologische Verwandtschaft zeigten", dann kann das nicht mehr wissenschaftliche, sondern nur noch emotionelle Beweggründe haben.²

² Als klassisches Beispiel für einen Artikel, der von Ressentiments und Emotionen

Methodisch und sachlich finde ich das Kapitel über die Konjugation über jede Kritik erhaben. Die Zusammenfassung am Ende eines jeden Subparagraphen sollte beispielgebend wirken.

Prof. Poppe hat sein Werk "Einführung in die mongolistischen Studien" genannt, aus welchem Grunde wir den Teil III, die vergleichende Syntax nämlich, nur als bedauerlicherweise fehlend anzeigen können, wenn man schon unbescheiden genug, sich mit den beiden Parts, die ohnehin das grandiose Ergebnis einer titanischen Arbeitsleistung sind, sich nicht zufrieden geben will. Wahrscheinlich wird uns Prof. Poppe diesen dritten Teil nicht schuldig bleiben.

Zweifellos wird unsere Generation von Altaisten es nicht verabsäumen Prof. Poppe für ein Werk zu danken, das im wahrsten Sinne epochemachend für Jahrzehnte sein wird, ein Werk, dass die Forschung anspornen und vorwärtstreiben wird, wie nur wenige mongolistische Werke vorher. Besonderer Dank gebührt Prof. Pentti Aalto, der den Druck überwachte, und der *Société Finno-Ougrienne*, die das Werk in derselben Reihe erschienen liess, in welcher J. Ramstedt's bahnbrechende und richtungsweisende Arbeiten erschienen sind.

Sollte es, was in diesem Falle sehr wahrscheinlich ist, zu einer weiteren Auflage kommen, würde ich ein etwas extensiveres Inhaltsverzeichnis sowie einen Suffixindex plus Wortindex auch aller übrigen mongolischen Sprachen vorschlagen.

University of Washington, Seattle

Udo Posch

in dieser Hinsicht strotzt, sozusagen der Schwanengesang der Osmanistik, als der Beherrscherin der Turkologie, möchte ich anführen: Herbert Duda, "Altaistik und Turkologie," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, LII, Heft 3 und 4 (Wien, 1955).

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